

MEMOIRS

OF THE

Wars of the *Cevennes*,

UNDER

Col. *CAVALLIER*,

In Defence of the

Protestants Persecuted in that *Country*.

AND

Of the PEACE concluded between him
and the Mareschal D. of *VILLARS*.

Of his Conference with the

KING of *FRANCE*, after the Conclusion
of the PEACE.

WITH

LETTERS relating thereto, from Mareschal
Villars, and *Chamillard* Secretary of State:
As also, A MAP describing the Places men-
tioned in the BOOK.

By Colonel *CAVALLIER*.

The SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N:

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Royal-Exchange Cornhill. MDCCXXVII.



35h



To his EXCELLENCY

JOHN,
Lord **CARTERET,**

Lord Lieutenant General, and General
Governor of **IRELAND, &c.**

MY LORD,



S it is the unquestion-
able Privilege of the
Oppress'd and the Mi-
serable, to fly to the
Generous Assertors of
Liberty, and the Guar-
dians of Right and Justice, the History
of a poor afflicted and persecuted Peo-
ple

vi The Dedication.

ple seems no where to be more intituled to Protection than with your Excellency:

T H E Book I do my self the Honour to place your Excellency's Name before, describes the last dying Efforts of a once brave and free Nation for their Civil and Religious Liberties, which after having been artfully undermined by several preceding Princes, were at last totally subverted by the powerful Hand of the greatest Oppressor these latter Ages have beheld. A Subject by no Means unworthy your Excellency's Regard ; since the Struggles of brave and Virtuous Men with Misfortunes and Calamities have been represented as a Sight the Gods look down upon with Pleasure.

The Dedication. iv

IT is the peculiar Happiness, *My Lord*, of these Nations to have preserved their Liberty, notwithstanding the many Attacks that have been made upon it, while most of their Neighbours are groaning under a vile and burthensome Slavery, that hardly allows them Leisure enough to indulge the barren Satisfaction of looking up to that Height from whence they have fallen. This Happiness under God, is in a great Measure owing to the Generosity and publick Spirit of such great and good Patriots as your Excellency, who to the Advantage of a Noble and benevolent Disposition, have added a due Application to those useful and honest Arts, that teach Men the Measures of Right and Wrong, impress them with a Sense of their Duty to Mankind, and inspire them with an Ardent Zeal for the safe-

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vi The Dedication.

ty and Prosperity of their Country. The most rational and effectual Method of avoiding the Principles of Tyranny and Bigotry, from which Source most of the Disorders and Confusions in the World have hitherto proceeded.

PARDON, *My Lord*, the Warmth with which I express my self on this Occasion. It is at least excusable in the front of a Treatise that contains a melancholly and doleful Relation of the sad Effects arising from the Ambition of Tyrants, and the Cruelty of Bigots.

—*Quaque ipse Miserrima vidi,
Et quorum*—

GOD be thanked, I am now in a Land that affords a fairer and happier

The Dedication. vii

er Prospect, especially since it came under your Excellency's Care. If it be, as is generally reckon'd, the most certain Sign of a wicked or weak Government, that the People are generally discontented, or broken into Factions and Parties, and ripe for some sudden Combustion, the truest and Noblest Panegyrick that could be made on your Excellency's Administration, would be to describe the Temper and Disposition of the People of *IRELAND* since your coming amongst them.

T H E S E Thoughts are too pleasing, for me not to be fond of enlarging upon them, did I not reflect that by doing so I should for so long suspend the Encrease of that Happiness the Nation enjoys by your uninterrupted

viii The Dedication.

ted Care and Vigilance about all the
Concerns of the Publick, who would
have just Cause to take it ill of me, if
I delay'd any longer to Subscribemy
self, as I do with the most profound
Respect,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's

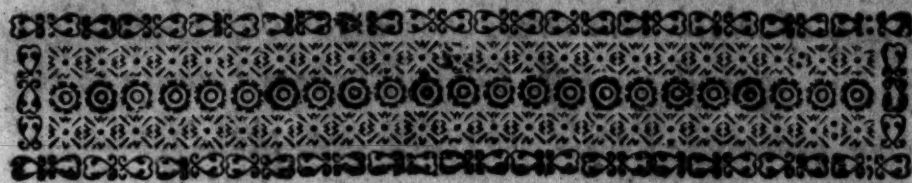
Most devoted, and

Most faithful

Humble Servant,

Ja. Cavallier.

T H E



T H E
P R E E A C E.

TH O U G H at first Sight the ensuing
Memoirs may seem of too little Consequence to trouble the World with; yet
I perswade my self, that whoever remembers the Noise these Transactions once made in the
World, and the great Expectations they raised in it, will not think it unworthy his Pains to peruse a full
and true Account of them. It was not my Ambition to become an Author influenc'd me in this Publication, but only to free my self from the Fatigue of answering a multitude of Questions occasion'd by those Accounts that have been published in France and
b elsewhere

elsewhere concerning our Affairs in the Cevennes; many of which were wrote not only with personal Prejudice against my self, but with great Enmity to the poor unhappy People who did me the Honour of putting themselves under my Conduct to defend themselves from their cruel and barbarous Persecutors. Not content with laying us under the greatest Severities meerly for following the Dictates of our Consciences, their Malice has prosecuted us since with the most unjust Misrepresentations of our Conduct, and invented the vilest Falshoods, to blacken us in the Eyes of the World. So that both in regard to my own Character, and to do Justice to my Fellow-sufferers, I have been obliged to draw up this short Account of our common Adventures and Misfortunes.

I shall not take particular Notice of all the Calumnies thrown upon us by our Adversaries, but let the naked Account I have given of our Proceedings stand for an Answer to them, since it would be endless to revive all the little Stories that were industriously propagated concerning us. I am only surprized, that in the celebrated History of France
by

by Pere Daniel, lately published, what concerns us should be related so imperfectly, and with so little Exactness. I do not reproach him as to what relates to my self. In that he doubtless went according to the Informations he had, however mistaken and defective. But surely his Accounts of that or any thing else of our Affairs cannot be looked upon as authentick, after his telling the World, that the Marechal de Villars had an Enterview with Roland, for which there never was any Manner of Foundation. An Error of such a Nature must render his whole Relation of those Matters very justly liable to Suspicion.

I T may not perhaps be unnecessary in this Place to observe, that the Story of the following Book is not the only Melancholy one of a great many, where in the People of the C E V E N N E S have been found struggling with Bigotry, Superstition, and Persecution. They are Part of the Descendants of the Albigenes and Waldenses, so famous for their Opposition to the Errors and Corruptions of Popery, long before the Reformation of Luther or Calvin. They boast to have been never reformed, but to have
had

had the same Doctrine and Worship since the Time of the Apostles. And indeed there are a great many Circumstances that render this exceeding probable. They can be traced back to the very darkest Ages of Popery, and were grown so formidable about the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries, as to bring upon themselves a Crusado, as a Set of dangerous and incorrigible Hereticks, that threatned Destruction to the Great Diana of the Ephesians, and unless timely suppressed, would put an End to the gainful Trade of her Silver-smiths. Pope Innocent III. was the Author of this Pious Expedition, and Simon de Montfort his General, who out of his great Zeal for the Propagation of the Faith, is said to have massacred no less than two Hundred Thousand of these unhappy People; making the Glory of the Creator a Pretence for the Exirpation of the Creatures, and destroying the Living Images of God, to set up the Idolatrous Shrines of his pretended Saints.

W E, who have suffered in the same honourable Cause, who have lost our Estates, and been forc'd to fly the Land of our Nativity on the same Account, have this Comfort beyond them of enjoying a Retreat
among

among those of the same Faith with our selves, who have shaken off their Obedience to the Church of Rome, and have asserted the true and genuine Principles of Christian Liberty. God be praised, we are now in no Danger of Dungeons or Gallies for Searching the Scriptures, and making them the Rule of our Faith to the best of our Understanding. The Remembrance of the Cruelties of Popery, should teach us, and all Protestants to continue true to our Principles, and to speak and act consistently with them. Since we pretend not to Infallibility, let us not dogmatically determine that all but our selves are in the Wrong. Since we make the Scriptures our only Rule of Faith, let us not set up other Rules in Competition with it. While we boast Charity the great Characteristick of our Religion, let us not make any Difference from us the Effect only of Obstinacy and Prejudice. Let us not condemn Persecution, and plead for Penal Laws with the same Breath. Let us not shut our Fellow-Protestants out of the Church, and rail on the Pope for sending them to Hell. In a Word, let us learn to Speak the same Language at all times, and not talk like Protestants only when we are arguing with Papists, and take up
their

their Dialect and Arguments as soon as we come to talk with such Protestants as differ from us.

THESE are Reflections that naturally offer on this Occasion; since Nothing can give so great Encouragement to Popery, or inspire its Votaries with such Hopes of its returning among us, as to observe, that which is indeed the worst Part of Popery, a Spirit of Imposition and Persecution any where remaining among Protestants. But lest I should be thought to invade a Province that does not belong to me, I shall here break off, and leave the Reader to the perusal of my Book.



A MAP
of the
LOWER LANG
or the
CEVENN

GEVAUDAN

 **MENDE**

Villefort

Chamruuf de
Brandon

Pompidon

Languel
Wood

S^t Steine Givouliaes

Colot

Vebrou

Pairolle

Mandap

Camboung

Pompidon

S^t Jean de
Gardoncque

La Baumelle

S^t Christolo

Rouuille

Mialet

Lower Monta
de Bilott

LES

Logalle

Tira Salinder

Anduze

Senune

Valeraugue

S^t Roman

Culcignac

Lezan

La Vigan

S^t Phillis

S^t Hippolite

Dufert

Marrou

Gangar

Pompignan

Claret

Vibrac

S^t Michel

S^t Bauzole

Pradte

Montbfeeri

Agnane

MONPELIER

S^t Jean

Gignac

Villomane

Satte

Latte

Marfeillon

 **AGDE**

Frontianis

G O I

L Y O

MAP
of the
LANGUEDOC
or the
VENNES



OF
of
ONS

DAUPHINE

ORANGE

AUGN

ARLS

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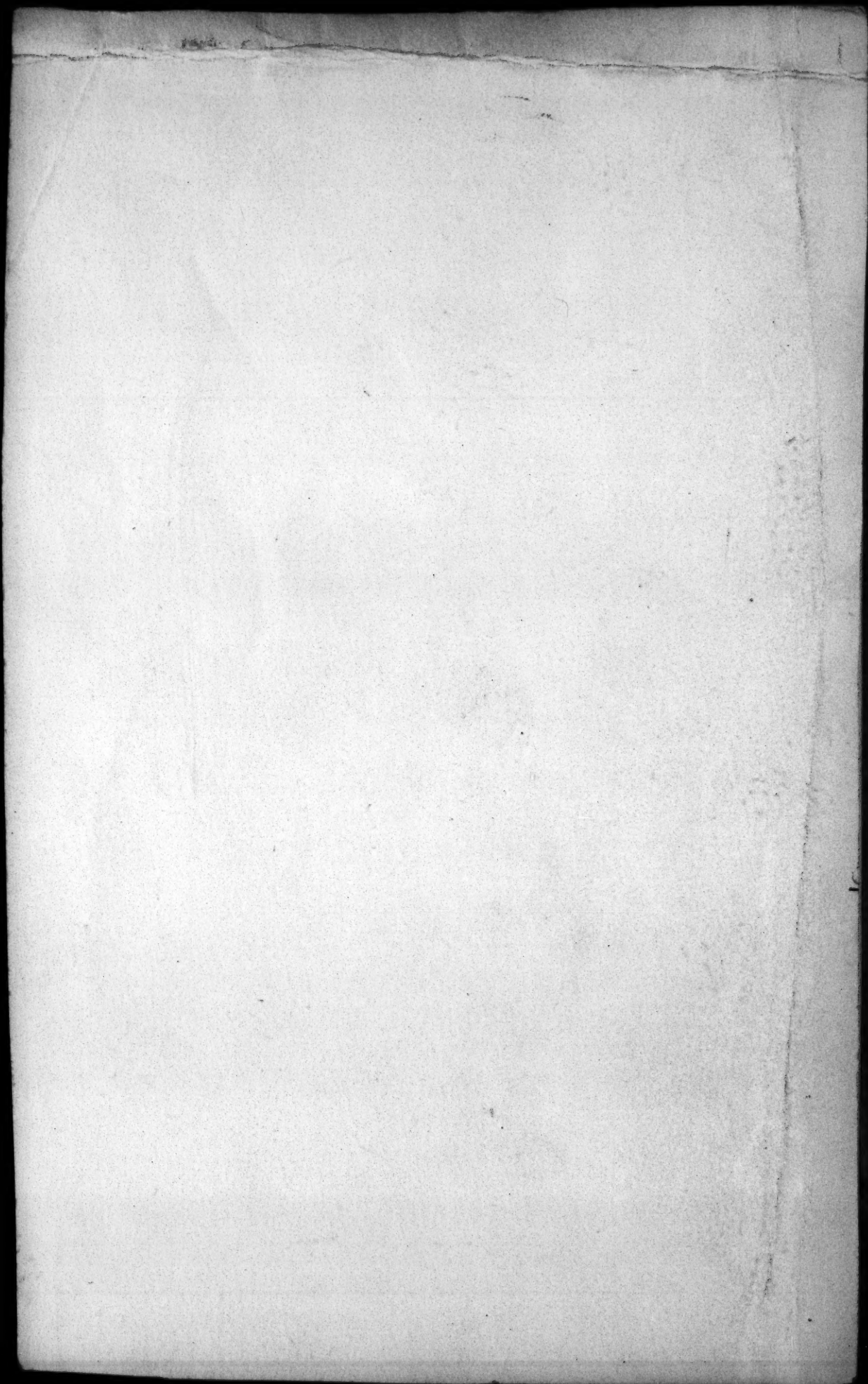
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UE

Littor Marine de France





MEMOIRS
OF THE
Wars of the Cevennes



OR E able Pens than
mine have been im-
ployed in relating the
Tragical History of
the general Subver-
sion of the Reformed
Religion in *France*,
and the cruel Persecu-
tion which happned in the Year, 1685. which
is the fifth, the Protestant Churches in *France*
have endured, under different Kings. There
is indeed scarce any thing to be met with in
the *French* Histories, but Accounts of perpetu-
al

tual Oppressions of the Protestants from the Time of the Reformation, 'till their utter Subversion under LEWIS the XIV.

Bigotry
of the
Papists.

M A N Y Things beside the Bigotry and Barbarity of our Enemies contributed at this Time to our Ruin, *viz.* The Luke-warmness and Hypocrisie, the Avarice and Ambition of some of the Great Men, who made Profession of the reformed Religion; as we read in the History of the Duke of Rohan and Duplessis, and of others I could mention; even some of the Deputies of our Church, who, for Honours and Pensions, gave up their Religion. 'Tis true, they were not of us, as St. John says, or they wou'd not have gone out from us; many of these Apostates turn'd even Persecutors of their Brethren. Such was the Duke *De la Force*, who made it his Business to go with his Dragoons from Province to Province, and forced the Protestants to change their Religion. Such was St. *Corme*, who had been a Deputy of the Church of *Languedoc*, who at the Heading of the Militia of the Country, perfidiously fell upon those whom he had forsaken, while they were at Prayers. Another took a Bribe from his King, to amuse the Protestants, by making them be-
lieve

lieve that the King had no evil Intentions against them; and he afterwards appear'd in the Character of Ambassador from the King to a foreign Court.

THIS Perfidiousness gave Opportunity to the Jesuites, and to the King, who was of their Society, to execute their Designs, so that when the Peace was concluded with Spain, a Multitude of Troops enter'd the Province with Sword in Hand, Blasphemy in their Mouths, and Fury in their Hearts; falling upon and oppressing the King's faithful Subjects, as if they had been *Turks* and *Barbarians* that had invaded their Country. These by the Prince's Order, and by the Instigation of an unmerciful Clergy, ran from City to City, and from House to House, exercising all Kinds of Cruelty and Violence, especially when they found any Person of Resolution, who courageously refused to go to Mass, and to abjure his Religion. These unmerciful Converters began with ravaging and destroying all that the Protestants had in their Houses; they destroyed, confiscated their Estates, and sent them, some to Convents, some to Goals, and others to the Gallies: And made use of the most Inhuman Torments

ments which the Devil could invent, in order to oblige them to change their Religion. To some, they sent Drummers, who beat Night and Day to hinder them from Rest, 'till they were almost dead; others, even Persons of Quality, they caus'd to turn a Spit, 'till they were almost broil'd, continuing them in such like cruel Tortures, 'till they promis'd to go to Mass. Sometimes they heated Bars of Iron 'till they were red hot, and compel'd them to take off their Shoes, and put their Feet thereon until they promised to go to Mass: While they thrust others into deep Pits or Wells, and left them there 'till their Blood was chill'd; in short, they made use of many other Tortures, which it would be too tedious to relate in this Place.

THESE Things were done openly; great Numbers they secretly put to Death, besides those who rotted and perish'd in infected Dungeons; some they transported into *Canada*, as they said, but they really drowned most of them, when they were some Leagues at Sea; if some did go as far as *Canada*, they there perish'd in Dungeons. In a word such variety

variety of other Torments were at this Time inflicted on the Protestants of that Nation, that God and themselves only know them all; and he will reveal them at the last Day, when in the Sight of Angels and Men he shall crown these Martyrs, and take Vengeance on their Murderers.

BESIDES the great Numbers of those who suffer'd in the several Ways just now related, 'tis well known, that above three Hundred Thousand of them made their Escape, and abandon'd with Joy their Estates, Houses and native Country, to retire amongst other Nations, which God by his infinite Bounty has rescued from the Yoke of Popery; where they were receiv'd with all that Charity, which is common to true Christians. But what was still the worst Effect of this Persecution, was; that it destroy'd even the Souls of many, who against the Light of their own Consciences submitted, and went to Mass, that they might avoid Death.

THIS is a short Abridgment of the Desolations which *Antichrist* hath caus'd to the Churches of *France*; this is the Manner after
which

which the Church of *Rome* pretends to make Converts to it's own Religion; a Religion intirely opposite to that of *Jesus Christ*, which is all Peace and Love, Charity and Mercy: Instead of which, this inspires nothing but Blood, Slaughter and Destruction. These are the Doctors, whome *St. Paul* writing to *Timothy*, describes to us, saying, *That in the latter Times some shall depart from the Faith, giving Heed to seducing Spirits, and Doctrines of Devils, speaking Lies in Hypocrisie.* But after all, when these Persecutors began to look for the the Fruits of their Persecution, they soon discovered that the Success did not answer their Expectation: They thought, that in thirty Years the Name of Protestant would be intirely abolish'd and forgotten in *France*; but Time has shewn they were much Mistaken, and far from their Hope. They have indeed by their Cruelties made a great Number of Hypocrites and wicked Men, who have no Religion at all; but I dare say that they never made any true Roman Catholick by them: And if the King should make a 'Tryal by restoring our Edicts, he would see that the Number of Protestants would be greater than it ever was, and that our Church-

es would flourish more than ever they did. For the Constancy of those that suffer'd, not only confirm'd their Brethren, but open'd the Eyes of many Papists. Thus it was as impossible to destroy the Protestant Religion in *France*, as the holy Scriptures; Persecutors can easily demolish the Churches, disperse the Assemblies, and torment the Bodies; but they cannot make themselves Masters of Hearts and Consciences, this only belongs to God, who will not permit those who hope in him to be intirely confounded.

EXPERIENCE hath shewn in our miserable Kingdom, what it is for a Prince to set himself against the Church of God; from this fatal Period every thing went to Wreck. The Glory of the Great LEWIS began to be eclips'd, and his Lawrels to wither, as soon as he began to be a Persecutor; he saw all the scourges of God upon his Kingdom; War, Plague and Famine; his strong Places taken, his Armies destroy'd in Battle: The Papists themselves have been forc'd to confess, that since the Persecution, nothing has prosper'd in *France*. But alas! or ever alas! happy if that King and his Council

Council would open their Eyes, and see the Rod which strikes them, by humbling themselves, as *David* did, when he saw the Angel destroying the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*; unless God raised him up as he did *Pharaoh*, to shew in him his Power and Vengeance on impenitent Sinners.

B U T as these Reflections are far above my Capacity, I shall quit them, and hasten to my Business, to relate what happen'd during the Time, that I was Commander of that Body of Protestants, who took up Arms in Defence of their Religion and Lives, which was almost four Years; I shall say nothing of what preceded that Time, but what contributes to the explaining of my Subject. Had I the Learning and Education my Father would have given me, were it not for the Misfortunes of the Times; these Memoirs might have appear'd with much more Order and Beauty, adorn'd with a polite Stile, which indeed are great Advantages to an History: But since these Qualifications are wanting in me, the Reader must be content with what I have in my Power, plain Stile, Brevity and Truth. What then may be expected in these
Memoirs,

Memoirs, is a short and sincere Narrative of what happen'd most considerable in the *Cevennes*, between the King's Troops and Malecontents, from the Year 1701. to 1704.

'TIS well known, that after the Revocation of the Edict of *Nants*, and the Dragooning the Protestants, the King sent through all his Kingdom Missionaries to instruct the Protestants, and their Children in the Roman Religion. The Clergy shut up in *Convents* and *Seminaries* all their Children of both Sexes, in order to instruct them in their Religion; hoping by that Means, that when the Old People were dead, the Protestant Religion in *France* would be at an End.

MY Mother being one of those who would not abjure their Religion, my eldest Brother and I were oblig'd to go to School to one of these Missionaries, to whom the King had assigned a certain Sallary, which the Parents were obliged to pay in proportion to their Ability; if they had no Money they were sent to Goal, or had Soldiers quarter'd on them at Discretion. My Father paid for a long Time for us, till we were perfectly well instructed in the Roman Religion; I say a

long time, tho' I did not find it so, for having the good Luck to please my Master, and the Vicar of *Ribaute*, the Place where I was born; I spent my Time well, and learn'd every Thing they taught me, without examining whether it was good or bad; my Age not permitting me to make any distinction between Truth and Error. I went for six Years successively from one School to another, for as soon as our Vicar saw I was well instructed, my Father got leave to send us to another School. Having got a little more liberty, I was very often at my Father's House, the Priests believing we were good Romans; and then my Mother us'd to instruct us in her Religion, and to explain to us the Errors of Popery, which she was very capable of doing, as understanding perfectly well the holy Scriptures: She would dispute on Matters of Religion with the Missionaries, who came to Preach at our House, and would often confound them, which occasion'd great Persecutions against her, and cost my Father (who was very timorous, and who went to Mass, to shun the cruel Persecutions) a vast deal of Money. We continued to go to School however, and consequently to Mass: But my Mother's instructions ran in my Head, and altho'

altho' very young, I began to have some Dis-
taste for the apish Tricks at Mass; such as
Ringing a small Bell under the Priest's Robe,
during the Elevation of the Host; all the
Bows one must make before the Altar, all the
Pomps of their Churches; in short, I found
them all very ridiculous, likewise the Caresses
of their Priests, who frequently took me, one
after another, to their Houses, where they
entertained me with the Miracles of their
Saints, the which, though contrary to my
Inclination, were seemingly diverting to me.

I N these Circumstances was I, when it
happen'd there was an Assembly in our Neigh-
bourhood under the care of Mr. *Brouson*, an
admirable Servant of God, where they took
many Protestants, of whom some were Hang'd,
others they sent to the Gallies; the Women
they Shav'd and shut 'em in Convents, or
banish'd 'em to the Tower of *Constance* at
Aiguemorte, or to other Places. This Noise
astonish'd and shock'd me, my Mother too
did not fail to represent to me all the Cruel-
ties which were committed against these
poor People; which gave me such an abhor-
rance of these persecutions, that I could not
look on them but with Indignation; and had

I strength according to my Inclinations, I would have avenged my self on them.

A F T E R this I could no longer bear the sight of the Priests, I spoke to them no more but with Disdain: In the mean time they forbad the Parents to speak of Religion to their Children on the severest Penalties, which were inflicted on some who disobey'd their barbarous Orders; barbarous I call them, none being oblig'd more than Parents to enstruct their Children in the Fear of God. Some being discover'd who had Bibles in their Houses, for their Children to read; they sent Soldiers to visit all the Houses of Protestants, and to take away all Books they found with them; and those, with whom they were, fined or sent to Prison. This made Parents generally so cautious that they durst not trust their own Children, till they came to Years of Discretion. But my Mother fear'd not these Threatnings, she had conceal'd many Prayers and Sermon Books, and Books of Controversy, and made me read them at all Opportunities: In reading the Bible, I met with some Passages directly opposite to the Romish Opinion, she made me reflect on them, and thereby discover'd the Truth of the Protestant

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testant Religion, and the Errors of Popery, as far as my Age and Reason were capable. I went no more to School but with the utmost Regret and Constraint, but in the Afternoon to shun going to Mass. At last my Master and the Priest discover'd my Change, and that I came no more to Mass. They then began to question me to know the Reason, why I was not diligent at School as before; I answer'd them but not in a satisfactory Manner. They began to suppose something, tho' till then they were assur'd I was a good Roman Catholick; for having a good Memory, I had gotten by Heart all that they desir'd I should learn, which made my Master say a thousand good Things of me to our Bishop of *Alex*, who came a little before that to visit our Diocess, and to Confirm the Children, of whom I was one. After I was Confirm'd, the Bishop call'd me aside, and assur'd me of his Protection on the good Character he had heard of me: And said that in a little Time he would send me to the Jesuites Convent to study and learn the Languages. I return'd him my hearty Thanks; when our Conversation was ended, I went Home and I gave an Account to my Mother of what the Bishop had said to me, and of his obliging Offer to send me to a
Convent.

Convent. This very much grieved my Mother who knew its Consequences ; wherefore, she redoubled her Care, in instructing me, and as I said before, in making me read all Sorts of good Books.

T O return to my Master and the Priest ; they would positively know, they said, the Reason why I came no more to Mass ; they began to ask me if my Mother had any Hand in my Change : But tho' I was so young, I apprehended their Designs, and finding my self hard put to it, I answer'd them, that I found something in their Religion so difficult to believe and comprehend, that it gave me a great deal of Trouble. For Instance, that the Body of Christ should be in the Host, in the same Manner as on the Cross ; that I had often, I said, touch'd the Host after the Consecration, and perceiv'd no Alteration made in it ; if he had told me that *Jesus Christ* was there spiritually ; I could believe it because my Senses did not contradict it : And as to the Cross, or in the Images of Saints, I could not believe these Things, since I saw no Authority for it in the Scriptures. Their surprize redoubled at all these Reasons, and I would have said, had they hearken'd to me, for

for I was fill'd with Passages out of Books of Controversy, and with what my Mother taught me: But they let me alone for that Time, contenting themselves with telling me that some one had led me astray, but that they would remedy it.

I did not fail the same Night to let my Mother know all that had past between the Priest, my Master and me, I gave an Account to her of the whole Conference exactly: What she was very much afraid of was, that I had said something which might create her a great deal of Trouble. I assur'd her to the Contrary, well said she, nothing will happen but what pleases God: I will continue while I live to exhort you, my Children, to look on the Romish Church as Idolatrous, and contrary to the Word of God, which she proved to us by infinite Passages out of the holy Scriptures, which she explained to us. This strengthen'd me much; she commanded me to speak boldly, and fear nothing when they examin'd me concerning my Faith.

SOME Time past in which my Master ask'd me but few Questions; but he threatened to send me to a Convent, if I would not
renounce

renounce the Errors of *Calvin*. They had indeed a Design to shut me up in a Convent: It was the Priest's Clerk, who was very much my Friend, who gave me notice of what had past; I went and told it my Mother, for being no longer a Pensioner, I had now Liberty to go backward and forward at my Pleasure; my Brother had quitted the School for some Time. My Mother went and told it to my Father, who busied himself more about his own Affairs than the Religion of his Children. My Father was very angry that I did not go to Mass, every one there went, he said, and why should not we, except we had a mind to ruin him, as such and such were, and afterwards forc'd to submit. My Mother answer'd him, that he might do with his Children what he pleas'd; but that she would never be satisfy'd to see them go to Mass, if she could prevent it.

FINDING my self thus encourag'd, and my Mother in Tears, I said to my Father, they might put me in Prison, but that I wou'd never go to Mass. I forgot to tell, that some Time before this, my Mother had taken me to an Assembly, which Mr. *Brosson* had erected, and with which I was charm'd

charm'd, for I don't remember that I had ever before heard any Minister preach; I was then thirteen Years of Age: At length my Father began to find out some Expedient to prevent an Affair which was likely to cost him so much Money and Trouble; I conceal'd my self for some Time at Home, none made Search for me, it being War Time, and the Persecution too was somewhat abated; they now winked at small Matters, which some Time before, wou'd have been much taken Notice of. After Summer, however, the Persecution began vigorously again by an Order from Court; they now closely observ'd those called Converts, and obliged those who fail'd in their Duty, to pay large Fines: They took care to make them go to Mass, or severely punish'd them, according to the King's Edict in the Year 1698.

MY Father was one of the first that was fin'd, because his Wife and Children did not go to Mass, a Crown for the first Time, and double for every Time afterwards; if he did not oblige us to go, they threatned to confiscate his Estate, and banish him out of the Kingdom. These Things were, without Doubt, a great Trouble to me, tho' I was

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young

young; all my Recourse was to my dear Mother, whom I saw melting in Tears; we were destitute of all Human Succours, having no Means to quit the Kingdom, and hearing every Day, of several taken in striving to make their Escape: All Passes were so guarded, that it was almost impossible, even for those who were near the Coasts, to get off. My Mother sent me to one of her Relations, who lived in another Parish, whose Priest was less severe than ours, and waited herself for her deliverance from God Almighty only, having no way to make her Escape.

IN the mean time, my Father and Brother soon comply'd so far as to go to Mass, the Priest enquiring often of them for my Mother and me; my Father answer'd him, his Wife would soon come, but as for me, I was gone away, and he would not be bound for me, however, he would use all his Endeavours to find me out. I spent six or seven Months with my Relations, who lov'd me tenderly, and took great Care to instruct me in our Religion, seeing my great Inclinations towards it. Whilst I was there, they carry'd me into an Assembly, under the Care of Mr. Plans, which fortify'd me very much, banish'd

banish'd from me all Fear, and made me resolve rather to die, than depart from the Faith. Mr. *Brousson* too had Places of Assembly in several Parts, he was a very zealous Servant of God, exposing his own Person Night and Day, that he might comfort and help the poor Persecuted; he did this not only by his Preaching, but also by his excellent Writings, which he dispers'd thro' all the Country: In short, he was a Man sent by God to support those that stood, and to raise those that were fallen. He at length died a Martyr to his Religion, for he was taken in the Year 1699, the 19th of *September*, at *Lorois* in *Bear*, and was broken on the Wheel at *Montpellier*, the 4th of *October* in the same Year. His Death was as edifying as his Life, his great Constancy made the very Executioners to weep over him: The Prayer he made on the Scaffold would have had a great Effect on all that were present, had not *Baville*, the most cruel and the most barbarous of all Tyrants, caus'd six Drummers to beat, while this holy Martyr was saying his Prayers, so that few could hear him.

A F T E R the Death of Mr. *Brousson*, there remain'd one Mr. *Roman*, a learned
C 2 Preacher,

Preacher, with one *Plan* and his Brother; the two last were taken in the *High Cevennes*, and hang'd at *Nîmes*: Mr. *Roman* continu'd always to make Assemblies in spite of all our Enemies, though they were in pursuit of us, and kill'd unmercifully every one they met with. The Goals and Gallies were full of Protestants, some Willing to expiate their Faintness, for having renounc'd their Religion, the others willing to live and die there, seeing there was no Possibility of getting out of the Kingdom, they had rather suffer Death for the Glory of God, than kneel down before *Baal*. Besides that, the Pastoral Letters of the excellent Doctor *Jurieux* had so much stirr'd up the Zeal of Protestants, that in all the *Cevennes* and *Vivares*, they cou'd hear of Nothing else but of his Assemblies, or of the Prisoners they took every Day up and down the Country. But our Zeal and our Desolations did not diminish in any Thing the Fury of our Enemies, they did all they could to make an End of us, in sending in all Parishes Dragoons at their own Discretion: However weary of our Constancy, they would now and then give us some Respite. At last, they took and routed all our Ministers, so that we were without Assemblies; and the last

last who was taken, was Mr. *Roman* coming back from an Assembly on *Magdalen's Day*: But good Luck for him, it was the Day before the Fair of a Place call'd *le Dignan*, between *Nimes* and *Anduze*, a Country full of Protestants. The next Day several young Protestants, to the Number of about forty, went to the Fair, and hearing there, Mr. *Roman* had been taken Prisoner, and carried to a Place call'd *Boucairen*, a League from thence; went directly to the House, where the Prisoner was guarded by twenty Men; they surrounded the House, broke open the Doors without any Resistance from the Guards, and rescu'd the Prisoner, who from thence went to *Germany*, to a Place call'd *Arlan*, near *Francfort*, where he is Minister now. After that, we were without Ministers, as I said before, for two or three Years: The Persecution continued all the while, however, with less Rigour. I was sometimes at my Father's, sometimes at my Relations, without being able to settle myself, or to know what would become of me, all our Hopes being vanishing. For, during the War, we flatter'd ourselves, that some Protestant Powers would interest themselves in our Misfortunes, especially King *WILLIAM* of glorious Memory:

ry; but this was to expect our Deliverance from Man, instead of expecting it from God, being a Work worthy of him, and above the Capacity of Man; tho' he was ever so willing. At last, weary of living such a disturbed Life, I took a Resolution to quit the Kingdom, let the Danger I cou'd meet with be what it could. The King of *Spain* being dead about that Time, and the Duke of *Anjou* pretending to the Crown, they made great Preparations for War, tho' it was not long before, that the Peace had been concluded. I told my Mother, who liked it, especially seeing we had no Pastors left, some having been put to Death, and others being gone out of the Kingdom. In short, being resolved, I look'd for an Opportunity to perform my Design, and found a Guide, who assur'd me, he wou'd carry me to *Geneva* for a Sum of Money, I was to acquaint him of the Day I had appointed for my Journey, which was in *March* 1701: we went away from *Languedoc* to the Number of twelve with our Guide, who had provided himself of an Order to lodge us by Tickets, as if he was an Officer conducting a Recruit; we had a happy Journey. But before I proceed any further, I must relate here an Action, which was the Beginning

ning of the Revolutions in the *Cevennes*, by which every one will see, that it is not out of a premeditated Design, as Abbot *de la Bourlie*, or the Count *Giscar* would insinuate it in his Memoirs: But by an unexpected and extraordinary Event, which divine Providence permits sometimes, for some End unknown to us.

TOWARDS the End of the Year 1699, it happen'd, that in a Village called *Montel* near *Alez*, twenty young Boys, the eldest not being above fifteen or sixteen, went to sing Psalms before the Church, 'till the Priest came to turn them away, who went to their Parents to tell them, that if such Things shou'd happen again, he wou'd impute the Blame to them. The Parents said they knew Nothing of it, and forbad their Children to do the like for the Future; this went no further, for the Priest was a good Sort of a Man, and the Inhabitants of that Place, being half Romans, and half Protestants, they lived together in good Amity. A Fortnight after this happen'd, the same young Men met again, and went together before the Church to sing Psalms as before; which provok'd the Priest to such a Degree, that

The first
Occasion
of the In-
surrection
in the Ce-
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that he put all his Roman Parishoners in Arms, and caused these Children, their Fathers and Mothers, to be taken, in order to discover the Authors of these Assemblies, and who encouraged them to such bold Actions; telling their Parents, their Children would never have attempted such Things, had they not been incited by them. In vain the Parents excus'd themselves, saying they knew Nothing of it, and begg'd the Priest to question the Children, and perhaps he might discover the Truth of it. At last, he call'd for the Children, and ask'd them the Reason, why they had been so impertinent, as to come and sing Psalms before his Church, and who bid them do it. The Children answer'd him, that it was Nobody, that their Parents knew Nothing of it; that they had done Nothing but praying to God, and singing his Praises, and that they would do it while they lived. This Answer surpriz'd very much the Priest, and so exasperated him, that he sent immediately to Prison several of them with their Fathers and Mothers, being persuaded it was by them they were put on. Some of these Men made their Escape, and went to join some others in a Place call'd *Brignon* on the River

River of *Gardon*, where they went into the Church; pull'd down and tore all the Images and Crosses, and burnt'd them before the Church's Gate, from thence they went to another Place call'd *Barron* a League's Distance, where they did the like, but the Militia being sent after them, some were kill'd and others taken; the rest made their Escape into the neighbouring Wood, where they continu'd to praise God with Psalms. Afterwards, they went to a Place call'd *Lusane*; where several Young Men came to join them; and where they bunt also all the Images of that Church, after which they retir'd into a Wood call'd *Bouquet*. This surpris'd both Protestants and Romans, not being able to understand it. There came among them one *Daniel* a Young Man, about twenty five Years of Age, well made, who made very fine Prayers, and pray'd with an extraordinary Zeal; many came from all Parts, some out of Curiosity, and others to hear his fine Exhortations, and what surpriz'd them the more was, that this Young Man had never read any other Book but the holy Scripture, and some Sermons of Mr. *Brousson*. They treated those who had been taken at *Barron* very ill, to oblige them to discover those

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who had encourag'd them to gather together, and burn all the Images of their Churches; but they could not oblige them to discover any thing, only, that they were willing to pray to God, even 'till Death. They laid all Parents under a strict Penalty, that shou'd suffer their Children to gather together, and likewise, any other Person who saw or encourag'd them so to do, and continu'd still to persecute them. The aforesaid Mr. *Daniel* quitted his Habitation, and went towards *Anduze*, where, notwithstanding all the Orders to the contrary, many went to hear him, and having been three or four Years without any Minister in the Country, was the Occasion of every one having Recourse thither. I was one of the Number that went to hear him, and was surpris'd to hear him speak and pray with so much Zeal, and return'd very well satisfy'd, as well as the rest of my Companions. The Intendant having understood this Young Man had erected Assemblies, sent some Archiers to apprehend him, and a Reward for him who wou'd take him, dead or alive. There was an Order from Court, wherever six Persons were assembled together, to fire upon them without Form of Law. They continu'd diligently to search for Mr. *Daniel* every where;

where; at last, they surpris'd him, with two of his Companions near *Anduze*, in a Place call'd *Tournac*, they were carried to *Nimes*, where the former was condemn'd to be hang'd, and the others sent to the Gallies during Life: Mr. *Daniel* dy'd with admirable Constancy, exhorting his Companions to suffer for God's Glory, even to Death; during the Time of his being under Sentence of Death, there were many Priests who promis'd him his Life and Liberty, if he wou'd change his Religion, but he endur'd to the End with a Constancy worthy of Admiration; for he was well perswaded, that if he had chang'd his Religion, they wou'd put him to Death, according to their Custom, for the Romish Religion seldom contradicts it self, being the Mother of Perjuries and Murder, not being oblig'd according to their Principle, to keep their Word with Hereticks, looking on all those who are not of their Communion, as damn'd; this is the Charity of their holy Mother, the Roman Church. All these Persecutions did not cool the Zeal of Protestants; for they would gather together sometimes in Woods, and sometimes on Mountains, like poor starv'd Sheep looking for the Pasture of Life.

Death of
Mr. Daniel
1690.

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AFTER the Death of Mr. *Daniel*, one *La Serre* took his Place, and erected Assemblies in the high *Cevennes*, and about *Alex*, and *Anduze*; the Militia was soon sent after them, and discover'd two or three Assemblies, of whom they killed a great many, and took several Prisoners. All these Tumults and Disorders made me very desirous to leave the Kingdom. And now, I shall give an Account what we did under the Care of our Guide, being twelve in Number; we pass'd through the Bridge of the holy Ghost without any difficulty, *Montelimar* being the only Place we were most afraid of; afterwards we went along the Mountains as far as *Echelles* a Bridge which parts *France* from *Savoy*. Our Recruits encreas'd on the Road, to the Number of thirty, all resolved to attack the Guard of *Echelles*, for some of us were well arm'd, but the Guard was retir'd. Thus we had a very happy Journey, and in eight Days went from *Uzez* to *Geneva*; which was a very long Journey for me, having never been further than eight or ten Leagues from my Father's House. In short, after having been a while in *Geneva*, not know-

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ing how to spend my Time, I resolv'd to go to *Brandenbourg*, where I had a Relation a Captain of Horse; but I wanted Money, and was oblig'd to wait till I had received some from *France*. I was two Months in *Geneva*, where I began to be weary, I got the Country Disease, and began to grieve after my Father and Mother, whom I loved tenderly; however I was agitated to go far from *France*, in order to shun all Temptations. While I was thus agitated, the same Guide, who had conducted me to *Geneva*, came back again with another Troop of Refugees. As soon as he was arriv'd, he came to see me, with a dismal Account of my Father and Mother having been taken and condemn'd to a perpetual Exile; my Father at *Carcassone*, and my Mother at the dreadful Tower of *Constance* at *Aiguemorte*, and their Estates forfeited, all by reason I had left the Kingdom of *France*. It is easier to think than to express the Confusion I was in at this News; I shut up myself in my Room, to think what Measures I should take to deliver my Father and Mother from their Confinement, for I had no Friends to consult: It is true I had Friends in *Geneva*, but not intimate enough to trust them with my Design: I knew, had I been in *France*,
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I would have got Relations and Friends enough to second me in my Enterprize; but the danger was very great, for had I been taken, the Gallies or the Gallows had been my Lot: For the Priests had declar'd themselves my Enemies, and these Gentlemen of the holy Mother Church seldom forgive; however the great Love I had for my Father and Mother prevail'd above all other Considerations.

I had a Comrade, whose Nams was *Bouret*, born in *St Cesair* near *Uzez*, he left *France* with me, and had several Times travel'd from *Geneva* to *Languedoc*; he came accidentally to see me to my Chamber, and I made no Difficulty to discover to him my deplorable Condition, and the Resolution I had taken to deliver my Father and Mother from Prison: I beg'd of him to help me in my Design, for I knew he had a Mind to go back again to his Country, and that he was very skilful in these Kinds of Undertaking. He desired me to have Patience for one Day or two, and he would bring me an Answer. After having spent two or three Days in my Room in Prayers and Tears, my Friend came to me, and said, he had found sure Means to deliver my Parents

rents from Prison. On which we departed immediatly from *Geneva* on the 21st of *June* 1701. and arrived in six Days at a Friend's House, a League from *Aleze*, who was very much surpriz'd at my arrival into the Country, not knowing the Reason: In short he told me my Father and Mother were set at Liberty. This good News gave me incredible Joy, and immediately I embraced him; when my Friend and I parted, we appointed a Rendezvous where to meet together, and take the Opportunity to return again to *Geneva*, for I design'd to stay but a few Days in the Country. I arriv'd at my Father's House on Sunday Morning, where he and my Mother were preparing to go to Mass; they were very much surpriz'd at my Arrival, and desired to know what oblig'd me to come back; I told them it was only with a Design to deliver them from Prison, where I heard they had been put. My Father told me they had been set at Liberty, on Condition they would perform the Duty of the Romish Church: I answer'd them, they bought it very dear, since it was the loss of their Souls, and that I had rather rot in Prison, than to damn my self; he told me all my Advice was unseasonable that he had promis'd

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to go to Mass, that it was by my Flight he had been persecuted, and they would begin to torment him, when they would hear of my Arrival, and if I would not go to Mass, he desir'd me, never to set my Foot within his Door. I told him I design'd to return in a few Days to *Geneva*, where I hop'd I would not occasion any farther Trouble to him; however I begg'd Leave to speak to him a little longer, which being granted I began thus. " I know too well what a Child
" owes to his Parents, who gave him Being
" and pious Education; therefore don't be
" surpriz'd at my Arrival, since the least
" Thing I could do was to expose my Life
" to procure your Liberty, or perhaps to prevent a Misfortune, which I can't think on
" without Trembling, which is your revolt
" against God; and without doubt, God
" who doth every thing for the good of those
" that fear him, has sent me to you, to lay
" before your Eyes your deplorable Condition,
" and this terrible Sentence of *Jesus Christ*.
" *Whosoever denies me before the World and Men,*
" *I will deny him before my Father which is in*
" *Heaven.* Where are your Promises so often
" reiterated in several Assemblies before God
" and Men, that you had rather die than go

“ to Mafs? Then turning towards my Mo-
“ ther, I told her, fhall I be forc’d at the laft
“ Day to be Witnefs againft you? Can it
“ be poffible that having began by the Spirit,
“ you fhould end by the Flefh? You, who
“ have been an Example of Conftancy, will
“ you be guilty of fo unworthy an Action?
“ Where are thofe fine Words you laid fo
“ often before my Eyes; *Be faithful ’till Death,*
“ *and I will give thee the Crown of Life?* Hav-
ing fpoken thus to them for an Hour; they
wept moft bitterly, and were resolv’d to suf-
fer all that God pleas’d to lay on them, ra-
ther than to go to Mafs, and to plunge them-
felves into Idolatry.

A F T E R having fpent the whole Day
together in Prayers, I took my Leave of them
to go fee fome of my Friends, and told them,
I would return in five Days to *Geneva*: My
Mother defir’d me to ftay till Harveft was
over, which could not laft long, fince it was
already begun, which I did accordingly. I
thought fit, during that Interval, to keep my
felf as private as I could; for that Purpofe, I
went into the high *Cevennes*, to a Friend’s
House who liv’d a League from the Bridge of
Mountvert; after having been there a while,
we had Notice given us that one *Esprit* a Stu-

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dent had erected an Assembly in our Neighbourhood, in a Wood call'd the Wood of *Fourque*; they ask'd me if I wou'd go there, I answer'd with all my Heart. The Assembly was very Numerous, considering the Country being very Mountainous and ill inhabited; but they have a very great Advantage which is this, that they can come from afar, without being afraid to be discover'd by their Enemies.

A second Cause of the Insurrection in the *Cevennes*.

A F T E R the Minister had ended his Sermon which was very long, he begg'd of us a Moment's Attention, to communicate to us something of Consequence concerning the Charity we ought to have one for another. In short, he told us there were in Prison, five or six persons of both Sexes, who had been taken in endeavouring to make their Escape out of the Kingdom for the sake of their Religion, and were kept at the Bridge of *Mountvert*, at the House of *Abbot Chailat* Subdelegate of *Intendant Barville*, where he confin'd those poor People in a Cellar, in which this inhuman Man had invented a Rack, (more cruel if it be possible, than that usually made Use of) to torment these poor unfortunate Gentlemen and Ladies; which was a Beam
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he caus'd to be slit in two, with Vices at each End: Every Morning he would send for these poor People, in order to examine them, and if they refus'd to confess what he desir'd, he caus'd their Leggs to be put in the slit of the Beam, and there squeeze them till the Bones crack'd; ty'd their Toes with Strings, and turn'd them with Wheels till they were out of Joint; What I tell you said he, I have from very credible Persons. After having ended the Narration of these Cruelties, he told us; if Thirty young Men would go along with him, he would set at Liberty these poor unfortunate People; he had no sooner finish'd these Words, but about threescore offer'd to follow him, so their Pastor became their Captain. I was willing to be of the Number, but my Friends would not permit me, saying I was too young, and a Stranger in the Country in Case of any Misfortune happening; so was oblig'd to go back with one of my Friends.

ESPRIT began his March with his Troop towards the Bridge of *Mountvert*, they had for Arms twenty or thirty Pistols, with three or four Guns. Entering the Place they began to sing the *68th Psalm*, going directly

to the House of *Abbot Chailat*, which they began to surround; and demanded the Prisoners, saying if they would deliver them up quietly, they would not commit any Disorder. But the *Abbot*, (who was a fierce and cruel Man) order'd the Guard to fire at them, of which two were kill'd on the Spot, and some others wounded; but this did not discourage them at all, they forc'd the Guard, broke open the Prison Door, and went to the poor Prisoners, who could not stir, having the Bones of their Legs mash'd; they took them notwithstanding, and carried them out of the House. The *Abbot* was shot in the Thigh making his Escape out at the back Window, they took him and brought him to a Place before his House, and ask'd him why he had committed so many Cruelties against the Protestants? He began to beg Pardon and his Life, but they desir'd him to ask Pardon of God, and gave him a quarter of an Hour to prepare himself, after which they shot him, and set his House on fire; some of the Guards were kill'd, and the rest made their Escape. After this Expedition they sent a Detachment of ten or twelve Men to conduct the Prisoners to some safe Place.

ESPRIT

ESPRIT with the Remains of his Troop went to another Priest, who was *Aide de Camp* to *Abbot Chailat*, whom they found in Bed, they took him, shot him, and burn'd his House: From whence they went to the Castle of *La Vedeze*, where they knew there were two or three Priests; they surrounded it, and desir'd them to deliver their Arms; but the Gentleman and the Priests fired at them, which oblig'd *Esprit* to set the Castle on fire where all that were in it were burn'd; after which, he went with some of those, who had follow'd him, into a Wood. All the Protestants of that Neighbourhood, disapprov'd mightily of the Burning of that Castle.

BAVILLE and Count *Broglio*, who Commanded in *Languedoc*, hearing these Disorders came with all Diligence to the Bridge of *Montvert*, with all the Troops that were in *Mountpellier*, where he surpriz'd *Esprit* in a House near the Bridge; and condemned him, with two or three more, to be burn'd alive, and some others to be Hang'd. After this Execution, Count *Broglio*, publish'd a Proclamation containing, that the King out of a pure Effect of his Clemency, was willing to Pardon all those who were concerned in the
Death

The third
and chief
Cause of
the Infu-
rection.

Death of *Abbot Chailat*, and had committed all the late Disorders, provided they would lay down their Arms, and retire to their Houses; otherwise they would be declar'd Rebels. Who would not have believ'd but this General was sincere, and would have executed his Promises after the Example he had so lately given by the Death of the Chief, and some others? But those that knew the Court of *France*, knew there is no Trust in it, Witness the Edict of *Nants*, and several others I could Name here, had they not been already given to the Publick: So that those who were so credulous as to retire home, were taken and hang'd before their own Door. After this Perfidiousness, the remaining Part retir'd into the Woods, and look'd for Arms to defend themselves, seeing there was no Safety for them. The Count of *Broglio* order'd the Houses of those he could not take to be burn'd or pull'd down: All this while I was in very great Trouble, not knowing what to do, I would have return'd home, but the Danger was too great, all Passages being well guarded, so that I was obliged to go and join these young Men in the Wood. Count *Broglio*, had rais'd the Militia, who pursu'd us from Wood to Wood, and from Mountain to Mountain:

Mountain : None of us had carried Arms, or knew how to handle a Gun ; we were ten or twelve Days in a great Consternation, spending our Time in Prayers, and truly never Sailor in a Tempest pray'd more fervently. Our Cheer was very indifferent all this while, for the King's Troops had plunder'd all the Country ; at last all the Militia retir'd, and Mr. Broglie went to *Mountpellier*, after having left a Garrison at the Bridge of *Mountvert*, which retreat rejoiced us very much. Then we thought to make our Escape as well as we could ; but one *Solomon*, who was with us in a Manner as a Pastor, represented the Danger there was in being separated, and if we would follow his Council, perhaps God would deliver us. During this Interval, which held five Days, one *La Porte* of *Brenous* an experienced and courageous Man, who had serv'd in the King's Troops the preceding Wars, came to us, who was of the same Opinion with *Solomon*, and said if we had a Mind to save our selves, and if we would take the Resolution never to be dispers'd ; he would find Means to get Arms and Ammunition enough ; which was, to go and disarm all the Papists which were in the Neighbourhood, and
would

would be our Guide in every Thing, having assur'd him we were fully resolv'd to execute his Orders, we went the next Night to the Villages of *St. Lexery*, *Mandagous* and *Fraisinet*, where we found about twenty Guns with Ammunition and Balls at a Papist's House; afterwards we went to several other Places, where we disarm'd and burn'd some Churches, for fear the Enemy should put Garrisons in them.

Mr. Broglie, hearing all these Disorders, came to pursue us with more Forces than before, being fully resolv'd to destroy us all at once; which he would have certainly done had we been so foolish as to wait for him. We made him run (after us) from Place to Place, till he was tired; to tell the Truth, we were very much afraid of him, knowing all his Cruelties, and that he would do Nothing but by his Brother-in-Law's Orders, *Mr. Baviile* the Intendant of the Province: One may say that these two Gentlemen have been the chief Actors of the Bloody Tragedy that was acted in the *Cevennes*, which I will prove by a short Description of their Characters.

Mr. Baviile is Son to *Mr. La Moignon*, who was first President in the Parliament of
Paris

Paris, one of the most famous Men in the last Age: He was well made, has a very good Physiognomy, but an ill Heart, and the most cruel of all Men, for very often he embraces those he would stab with a Dagger; one must confess he is very ingenious and well learn'd, and would be a good Magistrate, could he be Master of his violent and furious Passions, which can't be curb'd but by the sweet Temper of his Spouse, who is a very good Lady. He was made Intendant of *Poitou* in the Beginning of the Persecution, and since of *Languedoc* where he is now; he has destroy'd intirely that fine Province, which may be said without Contradiction, to have been the most flourishing of all *France*. His Tyranny was universal, and the Protestants felt the Effects of it, and Catholicks have no reason to praise him, since he ruin'd the most of 'em to enrich himself: Every one knows he had no other Fortune when he came into *Languedoc*, but what he got with his Lady; however he found Means to give his Daughter (who was married to Mr. *Pelletier*) four hundred thousand Livers ready Money. One may judge of the Master by the Servant, I mean *Seillier* his Secretary, who died in *Paris* four or five Years ago and offer'd sixty thou-

land Crowns for the Commission of Register in chief of the *Chatelet*. *Gambier*, one of his Servants, who rents in the Province more than a hundred and fifty thousand Livers; in short he enriched all his Relations and Domesticks, by his Exactions and Tyranny.

AS for his Brother in Law the Count *Brollio*, he is naturally fierce, haughty, cruel and brutish; having no Manner of Politeness, but greatly opinionated of himself, tho' not capable of commanding an Army; for had he been of another Temper, he would not have carried Matters to such great Extremity, but as I said before, their Cruelties tir'd our Patience. *God reward them according to their Deeds.*

I beg my Readers pardon for this Digression, which at present may seem not altogether pertinent to these Memoirs; But when he proceeds further he will find these two Persons so often mentioned in the sequel of this History, and such principal Actors, that I am well persuaded he will think it material to be acquainted with their Characters. But not to detain you any longer, and to return to the thread of my Discourse, to prevent Confusion, which might

might be very prejudicial to us, it was necessary to choose a Commander; for it would not be prudent to put it off to the last, by reason we were under an apprehension we might be every Moment attacked, and were in danger of being defeated at the first Onset, if we had not One to head us. Though all these Reasons were look'd upon as very judicious, yet no Man was for the present chosen, till some Months after, upon *la Porte's* declaring, that unless they would Elect One, he would immediatly retire, and let them shift for themselves; he was unanimously chosen General, and acknowledged as such.

Our Troops being increased to Threescore 1701.
Men, they thought fit to name Officers, and The Num-
to form Companies: A Commission being ber of the
offered to me, I desired to be excused, as in- Malecon-
tending not to be an Officer, but to serve as tents who
a Voluntier; but some of my Friends were Form
so urgent with me, that they obliged me to themselves
accept of a Lieutenancy. into Com-
panies.

The Enemy had been for a Month pursuing us, and not able to overtake us, so that nothing Material had been transacted between us: Now and then we lighted upon and

took some of their Parties, of Ten or Twelve Men; which was of little consequence to us, for at last we were forced to an Engagement, after this Manner.

Count *Broglie* having continued for some Time in the Upper *Cevennes*, and being obliged to return to *Montpellier*, he left Captain *Paul*, formerly a *Partisan* under the *Maraschal Catenat*, against the poor *Vaudois* in *Piedmont*, together with three Independent Companies and some Militia, and ordered him to pursue and destroy us: Which he did so effectually, that one Day he overtook us near the *Collet de Deze*. When we saw him so near, that we had much a-do to avoid him, we held a Council, wherein Captain *la Porte* and I were for Fighting, but some others opposed it, with convincing Arguments, that three-score Men, which was our Number, were not able to Cope with, much less to Defeat above Two Hundred. However, by the Majority of Votes it was Resolved not to draw back. My Captain, who was lame, foreseeing the Event of a Battle, wherein we should have great Occasion for our Leggs, left me the Command of his Company, which was very weak. I headed it, and our Commander set
us

us in the midst of a Field, named *Domergues* Field, situated on the top of a steep Hill, surrounded with Precipices; a very inconvenient Post for those who are so unfortunate to be beaten and put to Flight. Captain *Poul* marched towards us with so grave and daring a Countenance, that it might have frightened us. Cap. Poul Attacks better Soldiers than we were: But when I saw him within Pistol shot, I wish'd I had not Voted for Fighting; but 'twas then too late, there was no Remedy. The Captain gave us an Entertainment of Gun Shot, as Defeated by him. thick as Hail; we endeavoured to requite them in some Kind, but after the first Discharge, they fell so briskly upon us, crying, *Kill, Kill*, that without Compliment, we left them Masters of the Field of Battle. I had taken Aim at an Officer coming directly to me, but my Gun only flash'd in the Pan without going off, and looking behind me, I saw our Troop running away, and thought fit to follow them. The Enemy pursued us a League, firing continually upon, and killing some of us; so that we were glad to get rid of such troublesome Neighbours, several of our Men being taken, and immediately Executed. There were many slain on both sides, but we suffered most, and the remaining Part
were

were dispersed, without any Probability of rallying again. We were so disheartned by this Defeat, that for many Days we did nothing else but run from one Wood to another; like so many Foxes, pursued by a Pack of Hounds.

Count
Broglie
pursues
em with
18 Com-
panies of
Foot and
Horse.

Captain *Poul* went in Triumph to carry the glorious News of his Victory to Count *Broglie*, who was so well satisfy'd with it, that he commanded eighteen Companies both of Foot and Horse to follow him, in order to destroy the Remains of our Troop, which was reduc'd almost to Nothing: But we knowing the Country, easily shun'd them; though they hunted us like wild Boars, pursuing us from Woods to Woods, and from Mountains to Mountains: However, we were so much concern'd to see ourselves surrounded with such numerous Companies, that for our greater Security, we thought to remove into the large and thick Forrest of *Lau-gal*, near the Mountain *Laufcrs*. The Enemy being soon inform'd of it, came to drive us out of it, but finding us too well shelter'd to be attack'd and forced, they retir'd and let us alone for a few Days. 'Twas about that Time they gave out, that in the last En-counter

counter there were Foreigners amongst us; Soldiers with long Whiskers, that seem'd very frightful. I do not know whether they contriv'd this Story on purpose to heighten the Glory of their Victory, by multiplying us, or some other Reason: But true it is, that from that very Time they gave us the Name of *Barbets*, intending thereby to father that Nick-name upon us, as they had since the Reformation on the *Vaudois*: For the Word *Barbe* doth originally, and in the Language of *Piedmont* signify Uncle: It was by way of Respect chiefly given to their Pastors; but the *Italians* to shew their Hatred and Contempt of them, formed out of this Word *Barbe* the Name of *Barbet*, and gave it to an ugly and shaggy Kind of Dogs; they named the *Vaudois*, *Barbets*, as being the *Barbes's* Disciples, and in Process of Time, the Papists of other Countries have called all Reformed of what Nation soever, *Barbets*.

THE Count *Broglie* had retir'd a little from us, yet he was not idle; he caus'd all the adjoining Villages to be fortify'd and garrison'd, on purpose from hindring us to make Inroads into the Country; or to be ready to attack us in Case we durst come out of the Woods

Woods. The Contrivance was very good, but however we endeavour'd to come together again; having in the Country very good Friends, who under hand helped us. We met again within seven or eight Days to the Number of forty Men; and being thereby encourag'd, we resolv'd to set Ambushes in the Roads, and chiefly, in those Places where the Enemy were nearest to us: Accordingly we sent our Detachment of twenty Men, who meeting a Party of theirs, of the like Number, so entirely defeated them, that not one of them escaped to carry Home the News of their Defeat. Encourag'd by this small Victory, we ventur'd to go every Night and beat out some of these Garrisons, and were so successful in it, that the others were obliged to retire into fenced Cities, for fear of our Insults; but when our Troop grew a little more numerous, then it was, we resolv'd to go on and undertake greater Things. The Enemy had fortify'd some Churches, to make use of them as Citadels, wherein their Soldiers used to spend the Night, and in the Morning, to come out of them and annoy us; this being very troublesome to us, we forced some of them, with small Loss, and burn'd them, that they should be no longer Shelters

to the Enemy, and because we cou'd not keep them to enrich ourselves. This is the Reason why the Priests complain'd so much, we had burn'd a great many Churches; but who are the most guilty, those who make the Houses of Prayer, Dens of Thieves, or those who demolish them when they are such? Those, who turn into Citadels the Churches, they look upon as sacred, or those, who esteeming them Idolatrous, burn them? Let any impartial Man judge, and chiefly, let him consider, that we never meddled with any Church wherein there was no Garrison, nor took any Thing out of it.

W H E N the Priests saw the Sparks of their Churches flying about their Ears, they had no Time to say Mass; and within less than eight Days, the greatest Part of them left the Country, and retir'd into fenced Cities. The Streets were full of them; nothing else was to be seen there but *Cassocks* and *Capuches*, such was their Fate during my stay in that Country.

C O U N T *Broglie*, as well as his good Friend *Baville*, being extreamly incens'd when they heard of the Measures we had taken,

G

with

Several
Prote-
stants put
to Death.

with Respect to the Churches, could not keep themselves within bounds of Moderation and Humanity: For they immediately order'd the Innocent, as well as the pretended Guilty to be taken up, and upon the least Suspicion without any Tryal to be put to Death; Women and Children were expos'd to their Fury, the Goals were soon filled with unfortunate People; and the Scaffolds and Gibbets stain'd with Protestant Blood.

S U C H horrid Cruelties proved as much prejudicial to our Enemies, as advantageous to us; for many Men who liv'd quietly at Home without the least thought of coming over to us, made no scruple of doing it, as soon as they saw there was no Security for any Person, tho' ever so Innocent. By that Means our Troops became more numerous, and being stronger, we resolv'd not to lay down our Arms till Liberty of Conscience and all other our Priviledges were restor'd to us. But 'twas not enough for us to make such a Resolution, we were further to look after the Ways and Means to make it good; and to provide for our subsistence, which was a very hard Matter to do; For, on the one Hand the Enemy was in Quest and in close Pur-

Pursuit of us, whereby we were mightily terrify'd; and on the other hand, no Place to go to, and in short we struggled with all Manner of Calamities. News was brought to one of us, that his Father had been seized on, and sent to Prison; to another, that his Mother, Brother, and Children were arrested 'till we should surrender ourselves. All these Things were indeed a very hard Tryal, had a dismal Prospect, and wounded us to the Heart: However we resolv'd not to sink under the Weight of them, but to submit rather to God's Providence, and to bring his Blessing upon us by our Devotion, and a good Life.

A F T E R I had been for some Time in the high *Cevennes*, I grew Melancholy, and the Reason of it was, I knew not well that Country, and perceiv'd there was not among the Chief Officers of our Troop, that Unanimity and Concord with which they us'd to be closely joined, on which Account I left them and return'd home. I would by no means relate the Particulars of a Discourse which I had with two Priests, were it not that it will very much contribute to shew the lamentable Condition the Protestants were in, and the Tyranny and sordid Covetousness of the Priests.

My Grandfather and eldest Brother and I being one Day in a Wood of *Chestnut Trees*, not far from my Father's House and upon the Road to *Vezenobres*, we saw the Priests of *Vezenobres* and *Martinargues* together, with another Man, coming towards us with each a Gun on their Shoulders: As soon as the Priest of *Vezenobres* saw my Grandfather, he ask'd him, *Are not you the obstinate Man, who retir'd into this remote Place to avoid going to Mass?* To which my Grandfather answer'd, *No Sir.* These are then his Children, said the Priest; Yes Sir, answer'd I; the Priest looking upon me asked me, *Whether I was not the young Man who had been out of the Kingdom?* No, Sir, reply'd I; 'twas not I, but a Brother of mine; the other Priest began to speak, and said, *he thought I was the Man in Question, because I spoke so boldly.* Then the Priest of *Vezenobres* ask'd us, *why we did not according to Promise, come to Mass?* My Brother answer'd, *That for his Part, he had been very sick; and as for me, that I came lately from a Relation I had been a while with;* but my Grandfather answer'd, *He had been at it:* the Priest reply'd, *He had not seen him there,* and looking upon me, ask'd me, *Where are your Father and Mother?* I told him, *They were not at Home, but*
gone

gone to visit a Relation of ours. That is not true, said the Priest, they are rather gone to a Meeting; but I'll make them come to Mass: And as for you, do you know your Catechism? Yes, Sir, said I, whereupon he ask'd me several Questions, to which I answer'd so well, that he told me he would stand my Friend upon Condition I would go to Mass; otherwise he would shut me in a Monastery for Life. When I heard him speaking at this Rate, and desiring to be rid of these troublesome Priests, I turn'd our Conversation into Jestings, and said, *I was very willing to be a Fryar, but of my Father's Order, and if he would permit me to perform my Probation with a handsome Nun, I would patiently suffer Confinement.* Then the Priest of Martinargues said, *You shall pick and chuse*; thus ended the Conversation, and the Priests went on to my Father's House: But by a short Cut, I gave my Father timely Notice of this troublesome Visit, so that he had Time enough to avoid it. When he return'd home in the Evening, I inform'd him of all the Particulars of our Conversation with the Priests, at which he was mightily concern'd, and immediately set himself to find out some Way or other to pacify them. As Money is a Mettle conquering all Things, and especially.

ally those who use to sell every Thing, even their Prayers; he desired, by a Friend, the Priest of *Vezénobres* to say some Masses for the Conversion of Hereticks, promising to pay him his Price for them: The Priest hearken'd to the fair Proposal, and accepted of it upon Condition, that the Low Masses should be pay'd him at twenty Pence a piece, and the High ones at half a Pistole each. As long as he was well pay'd he was very gentle and civil to us, but no sooner had my Father given over, but the Priest began again to threaten with Fire and Faggot. My Father being afraid of a new Storm, desir'd a Friend of his to make him a new Proposal, and because he could not pay him as much as before, the Priest was so incens'd at it, that he sent immediately Soldiers to plunder his House, whereby we were all dispers'd, and I was constrain'd to go into the high *Cevennes*.

FROM this single Example one may infer, that in the other Parts of *France*, the Protestants were as ill used as we in the *Cevennes*, since Covetousness, and the Spirit of Persecution were raging wheresoever there were Priests; and that they had no other Aim in tormenting both the Bodies and Souls of the Protestants,

Protestants, but to empty their Purses, and to throw them into Despair; that they might be incited to take Arms, and the Papists thereby have a fair Pretence to destroy them.

I stay'd but a few Days in the High Cevennes, for knowing the Weakness of the Malecontents, I concluded it was absolutely necessary to make some Diversion in Order to prevent their Ruin and mine. I acquainted Capt. *la Porte* with my Project, which he approv'd, and accordingly I return'd in all haste into my Country, in Order to execute it the first Opportunity: And it was not long before a favourable one offer'd; for two or three Days after my Arrival, being privately informed there was a Religious Meeting in the Neighbourhood, I went thither, and after I was come out of it, some of my intimate Friends inquired of me, how Things went in the High Cevennes? *Very well said I, but our Friends there make sad Complaints against the young Men of our District; That we live here quietly, when our Bretheren are fighting, and that we let them be murther'd without giving them the least Assistance.* To which I added, *We are indeed Cowards if we do not join with them in endeavouring to deliver our Re-*
lations

lations and Friends out of Prison, and to free ourselves from the Persecution we are groaning under, and that our Religion ought to be dearer to us than our Lives. After giving them several others to the same Purpose, they ask'd me, *What they could do to make a powerful Diversion in their behalf?* When I saw them so well inclined, I made a Motion to meet together as privately, and with as many Men as we could; and then to consider on some Way or other to act vigorously and effectually. A Barn between *Anduze* and *Alez* being appointed for our Rendezvous, thither we went in the Night, and at the appointed Time to the Number of Eighteen young Men, (the eldest of us not above four and twenty Years of Age :) When we had long discoursed on several Particulars concerning our intended Project, it had like to have died in the Birth, for want of Arms, the most necessary Things for its Accomplishment; for having inquired how well provided we were with them, we found among us all, but one light Gun and twelve Swords; insomuch that some of our Friends being dispirited, they could no more undertake to fight, than to remove a Mountain with their Fingers. But I desired them not to despond, for I knew of a Way, whereby

we should be supply'd with as many Arms and Weapons as we had Occasion for, not only for the Present, but also for the Time to come; which was to go into Priests Houses, wherein I knew there was a good Store of them.

I N Order thereto, the first Attempt we made, was against the Priest of St. *Martin*, The Priest of St. Martin's disarmed. a Village a League from *Anduze*; he was a good natur'd Man enough, a Merry Companion, and of no persecuting Temper. When all the Protestants were by the King's Order disarm'd, he could not avoid receiving and keeping in his House the Arms of his Protestant Parishoners, and I knew that in that little Arsenal, there were as many of them as would serve our present Turn. That we might the better succeed in our Design, we made Use on this Occasion, as well as on several others, of some Stratagems, such as to put on Counterfeit Habits, and Whiskers, to make a great Noise in coming into Houses, and to speak an odd Kind of a Language, which we understood not ourselves, that we might not be known, but be taken for Foreigners; and that People might believe we were more numerous than really we were.

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Hence

Hence it was that they a while fancied, there were a great many Strangers amongst us, as *English, Dutch and Germans*; thus disguised, we went softly about ten of the Clock at Night, and knock'd at the Priest's Door, who immediately open'd it, thinking perhaps, that some Parishioners came to desire him to go and give the *extreme Unction* to a Patient. He was very much surpris'd to see Eighteen young Men skipping one after another into his House, but we soon put him out of his Fears, by telling him, that we came not to do him any Harm, but to desire him to deliver up to us the Arms he had in his Custody, which he did, without any more ado. We took each of us a Gun and a Sword, and the Priest was so thankful to us, that we ask'd of him nothing else but his Arms, that he treated us handsomely. There was indeed a young Man in our Troop whom the Priest had compell'd to pay him some Fines for having not been at Mass, that to be reveng'd of him set his Stack of Hay on Fire: And this was all the Loss he sustained from us during the whole War. This Expedition being over we went away as privately as possible.

SOME

SOME Days after we went again, in the Night to *Bagar*, a Village between *Alez* and *Anduze*; there was living in that Place one *Jourdan*, formerly a Protestant, but who was turned Papist, and a great Persecutor: 'Twas the same Man who about five Years before had killed *Vivans* a Student in divinity, and a Preacher, as well as other Persons in the Congregations, for which he had been well rewarded by the King. He had then a good Store of Arms in his House; we went and knock'd at the Door, but no Body coming to open it, we broke it open: Then his Wife came to us, and ask'd, *What was our Business?* We answer'd, *That we wanted to speak to her Husband, and to take the Arms, he had in his Custody. As for my Husband, said she, He is gone to Alez to make Vintage, and for the Arms, you may, if you please, take them all away:* Mean Time, one of our Company found him hid under a Bed, and made him tho' with much Reluctancy come from under it; and demanded of him whether he remember'd not that he had killed *Vivans* and others? To which he answer'd, *He had done it by the King's Order, and was very sorry for it:* And we are very sorry too, said we, *To see our selves obliged to put you to death, but thereby our Enemies will see that we can make*

Jourdan
put to
death by
the Male-
contents.

use of Reprisals: After having exhorted him, to beg God's Pardon, for his Sins and Murders, and giving him Time to say his Prayers, we shot him to Death. The same Night we burn'd the Church of *St. Christol*, because they intended to put a Garrison in it, which would have been very troublesome to us.

THESE Particulars were soon brought to the Count of *Broglie*, and even mightily magnified; for they told him that we were six Hundred Men, and that there were many Strangers speaking unknown Languages amongst us. The Count thought at first that the *Barbets* of the *High Cevennes* were come down into the Low ones, and therefore made haste to stop the Combustion with as many Troops as he could get together on a sudden: But the Truth of it is, at that Time we were but twenty Men in all, who had engaged themselves to one another, never to sepearate, and were in a perpetual Motion, making every Night some Expedition or other, sometimes in one Place, and sometimes in another. For in a few Days, or rather Nights, we removed into some other remote Place, in Order to perform some small Expedition.

T H E R E

THERE was at that Time one *la La Porte* reinforces the Male-
Porte, not the same Person so often mentioned contents with 28
 in these Memoirs, but a Gentleman of a good young
 Family in *Miallet* in the *Cevennes*: He had Men.
 been well educated, and was gone to *Nimes*
 to avoid the violent Persecution in his Country,
 but as soon as he heard of our Insurrection;
 he sent us an Express to tell us he intended
 to join us, and the Matter was so well con-
 cerned, that he came safe to us in the Wood
 of *Tournac*, with twenty eight young Men of
Nimes. This is the same Person who after
 took upon him the Name of *Roland*; the same
 Day he came amongst us, we had an En- Takes up-
 counter with a Detachment of St. *John* of on him
Serres, a good League from *Anduze*, under the the Name
 Command of *la Brugiere*, then Major of that of Roland.
 Town; he was a great Persecutor of the Pro-
 testants, and on that Account we desired
 mightily to come up with him, but he would is not
 not grant us Time to do it, for as soon as the *La Brugier*
 Fight began he ran away; his Detachment defeated.
 was defeated, many of them slain, and many
 upon begging Quarters, received it, after
 they were disarmed. From thence we went Several
 to *Quissac*-ward a Woody Country; where Villages
 we disarm'd some Salt keepers which were disarmed
 in the *Glass-House* of *la Rouviere*, as well as by the
 the Malecon-
 tents.

the Papists of *Serignac*, *Conibas*, *Vic* and *Montmirat*, to whome we did no Hurt, because they very willingly deliver'd up their Arms: From these Places we return'd towards *Anduze*, where in a few Days we set on Fire the Churches, or rather Citadells of *Gaviac*, *Lesan*, *Cardet* and *Monastier Abby* of *Tournac*.

They divide, and act in 3 different Parties.

CAPTAIN *La Porte* sent me Word, he desired to concert with me about what we were to do for the Time to come, I stay'd a Day for him in a Wood near *Genairargues*, whither he came with four of his Men; He, *Roland* and I, went a little aside from our Men, with some of our most intimate Friends, and having discoursed a while upon our present Condition, we agreed that towards making a powerful Diversion, it would be necessary to form three separate Bodies; and act at the same Time in three different Places. This being resolved upon, Captain *la Porte*, went towards *la Sale*; and *St. John* of *Garonnenques* with thirty, and I march'd towards *Uzes*, with the like Number. Count *Broglie* came to attack me, and pursued me four Days, which obliged me to retire into the Wood of *Vaquieres*, where he intended nothing less than to have starv'd me, but by

by good Luck I avoided the present Danger: For the General having received News, that *la Porte* had burn'd the Church of *Brenous* near *Alez*, he was necessitated to go where his Help was more requisite. As soon as he arrived at *Brenous*, he heard that *la Porte* was retir'd, and that *Roland* had disarm'd the Papists about *la Sale*; upon which he march'd towards this last Place, in Order to fight *Roland*. In the mean Time I made good Use of his Absence, came out of the Wood, and went down into *Vaunages* to cut out Work there for the General.

H E had been so cautious as to send a Company of Soldiers whereof the greatest Part were *Germans* to Garrison *Calvison*, and order'd them to pursue, and fight us the first Opportunity, which they did; for having got Intelligence that we were in a Barn in the midst of an *Olive* Wood near *St. Comar*, they came thither in all Haste being fifty in Number, well arm'd and disciplin'd, whereas we were but five and thirty in all, and very raw too. They had indeed surpris'd us in the Barn, had not one of our Sentinels sent us Word that they were near at Hand; being frighted at the News, we had scarce Time

Garrison
of Calvison
defeated.

to come out and set ourselves in Order behind the Wall of the *Olive* Wood, (which was of good Use to us, in as much as it hinder'd the Enemy from discovering how few we were :) They made their first Charge with great Briskness, and we endur'd it with as much Patience, but observing the stood still, as fearing we were more numerous than really we were ; we gave them no Time to charge again, but chme out of our Intrenchment, and fir'd upon them, so warmly and so directly, that twenty of them were kill'd upon the Spot: The Remainder betook themselves to their Heels, and ran away in all Haste as far as *Calvison*, and we lost but one Man.

T H I S was the first Time that the Enemy could reach and fight us in the Low *Cevennes*, and tho' this Victory of ours was not considerable, yet it made a great Noise in the Country, and incited some young Men to come over to us ; insomuch that in a few Days, our Troop increased to three Score and Ten Men. The first Thing we did, after the Enemy was out of Sight, was to prostrate our selves on the Field of Battle ; to give Almighty God hearty Thanks for his extraordinary Assistance, and to beg the Continuance

nuance of his Blessings and Protection. There is no Need of inquiring whether we were overjoy'd and encourag'd by this good Success. Our Joy was so much the greater, as we hoped not for the Victory; our chief Aim being rather to defend ourselves than to conquer. But when we saw those running away whom we look'd upon as invincible, we entertain'd great Hopes for the Future.

CAPTAIN *Esperandieu* about that Time came to us, he was born at *Foisac* near *Uzes*, he had been an Officer in the King's Army, and was indowed with as much Conduct and Prudence, as was requisite towards carrying on any important Business. I took upon me to ask him such Questions as these, *Why he was? From whence he came? and what he came to us for?* To which he gave satisfactory Answers, and the next Day after his Arrival he took me aside, and desir'd to know of me, who was our Commander? I told him we had none, but were all Commanders who had taken Arms to avoid Persecution, and to endeavour to deliver out of Prison our Parents, Relations and Friends; and that all those who join with us for that End should be very Welcome. To which he reply'd that he

“ came not for any other Purpose, but that
 “ he had learned more by Experience, than
 “ we who were as yet very Young ; and that
 “ it was absolutely necessary for us to have a
 “ Commander ; otherwise, confusion and Dis-
 “ order would soon be amongst, and destroy
 “ us.” He made a long Discourse to me, to
 prove the Necessity and Usefulness of having
 a Commander to head us ; and enforcing Ar-
 guments and Examples. I liked very well
 his Discourse, and acquainted immediately
 my Friends with it, who also approved of it ;
 but we did not for the Present follow his Ad-
 vice. *Esperandieu* was soon follow’d by one
Rastalet, born at *Rochoude*, near *Alex* ; he had
 also served in the King’s Army, and brought
 a good Recruit along with him. By the Ar-
 rival of these two Officers, we were mightily
 encourag’d, and our Spirits rais’d to great
 Undertakings.

C O U N T *Broglio* was at *la Sale*, when
 he receiv’d the ill News of the Defeat of the
 Garrison of *Calvison*, and was so surpris’d to
 hear that a Company of well disciplin’d Sol-
 diers, and more numerous than we were, had
 been beaten by a few raw young Men, that
 he immediately hasten’d with a few Indepen-
 dant

ant Companies to their Relief, and to our Ruin: But having under Hand timely Notice of his coming, we retir'd into a Mountainous Woody Country near *Uzez*.

T H A T General wat not got half Way before he heard of our Escape, he return'd and pursued us two Days, and forced us into *Maillerargue's* Wood: But his Troops surrounding only Part of it, we went out another Way; and march'd towards *Uzez*. When we were upon the Road, we were inform'd, *Belveret* Burn'd, that the Papists of *Belveret* had burn'd the Dwelling Houses of the Protestants of that Town, and some of the Neighbourhood; by Way of Reprisal, we thought our selves obliged to have the Houses of the Papists therein set on Fire, and by that Example to teach those of other Countries to be more Wise and Moderate: Which being executed we disarm'd the Papists of *Seines*, *Vendras*, *Fons*, *le Roux* and other Villages. All this Time, Count *Broglio* was in pursuit of us at some distance; but we knowing the Country very well, constantly gave him the Slip: While he was pursuing us, an Express came to tell him, that *la Porte* had beaten up the Garrison of *Pompidou* consisting of Fifty Men, and

disarmed St. Stephen, of *Vaillaborgne* and some other Villages; and that *Roland* was doing the same about *la Sale*. When he saw the Fire increasing more and more, he left us, and went to *Anduze* to advise there upon Ways and Means to stop our Progress. And in Order thereto, he went himself against *Roland*, and sent Capt. *Poul* against *la Porte*. True it is that this Capt. attack'd and beat *la Porte* two or three Times, but could never overcome him, he the said *Poul* maintained himself, and continued for a while to be the Terror of the high *Cevennes*.

W H E N I knew Count *Broglio* was got a little Distance from me, I went towards *Anduze*, where I was in great danger of my Life: For intending to speak to a Friend of mine dwelling at *St. Hillere*, a League from *Alez*. I went thither in the Night with three of my Comrades. No sooner were we got into the Village but we heard one crying, *Who's there?* 'Twas a Detachment come that very Day from *Alez* to have a watchful Eye upon us: When I perceived the unexpected Danger we were in, I advis'd my Friends to stand as near the Wall as possible, and to choose rather to be kill'd than to surrender

The Col.
in danger
of being
taken at
St. Hillere.

render themselves. I made a shot at the first Enemy that came near me, but my Gun only flash'd in the Pan; I had by good Luck a Pistol at my Girdle which I took and cock'd, but the Soldier being frighted at it durst not come at me, nay he went aside, I made speedy Use of this Opportunity and retir'd though they fir'd upon me. Two of my Friends were not so happy as I, for after one of them had unseasonably fir'd, some Soldier fell upon, and took him as he was turning himself to run away: The other was kill'd upon the Spot, and the third made his Escape with me. I made Haste to our Troop which was not far off, acquainting them with our Misfortune, and desir'd them to follow me in Order to rescue our Comrade. We went immediately to the Village, and found the greatest Part of the Enemy got into two Houses, they defended themselves bravely, in Hopes that the Succour they expected from *Alex*, would soon arrive; but the worst on't was, so violent a Rain fell upon us, that we were forc'd to give over both our Attack, and our Comrade; who a Month after was broke alive upon the Wheel at *Nimes*, however we took some of those Soldiers, who had no Time to get into Houses Prisoners, and shot them to
Death.

Death. The next Night we went to *Ribaute*, (the Place where I was born) in order to disarm the Inhabitants of it, but they were got into the Castle; the Gate whereof they defended so well by firing upon us, that three of our Men were kill'd and some wounded, in so much that we were oblig'd to withdraw, and go upon a high Mountain, but as soon as we arrived there, so violent a Rain fell upon us, that we were constrained to shelter ourselves in great Caverns and Dens, and remain there two Days in Want of all Necessaries, till it was over.

Capt. Cavallier endeavours to fight the Colonel, but to no purpose.

FROM thence we went towards *Genaragues* near *Anduze*; the *Marquis* who was Governor, and *la Coste Major* of it hearing we were in the Neighbourhood, order'd most of the Citizens to go out against us under the Command of Captain *Cavallier*, a Relation of mine: But on such Occasions as this Alliance in Blood signifies little. When I saw him coming up to me, I made my self Master of a little Hill, having two or three Paths reaching from the Top of it to a *Rivelet*, which with its Streams, surrounded it in Part; as soon as he was advanc'd about half Way up the Hill, I went down, pass'd over the Brook, halted

halted and faced him. When he saw me thus posted, he began to move down, and I to march along the Rivelet, and to climb up another Way; we play'd the same Game over and over, but he could never overtake me. We indeed fir'd several Times upon one another, but a far off, and without any Damage to either Party; when the Captain perceived he was not that way able to come to Blows, he divided his Men into Platoons, to stop the Avenues, I did the same, and posted some Soldiers behind the Walls, commanding the Passages. My Cousin seeing me so well intrench'd did not attack me, tho' he had two to one, but retir'd softly, being no Doubt very sorry he had not beat me with the Militia of *Anduze*, as he had promis'd General *Broglio*, to do.

I likewise retir'd, for Fear Capt. *Cavalier* should come back again with more Forces than before against me, and with intent to afford Captain *Roland* some Help, who was vigorously pursu'd by Count *Broglio*; but the Count had so watchful an Eye upon me, that he hinder'd me from joining *Roland*. From thence I marched towards *la Porte's* Quarters to try some Way or other to join him, but
Captain

Some Vil-
lages dis-
arm'd.

Captain Poul who pursued him close, took care to prevent it. When I saw I could be of no Use either to Roland, or la Porte, I went down towards Nîmes and Somieres, on purpose to make Devastations there, hoping thereby, to oblige either Count Broglio, or Capt. Poul or both, to give over pursuing them, and to hasten to put a Stop to my Progress. In order thereto the first Thing I did was to disarm the two Villages of Fons and Gagnans, but the Governor of Nîmes hearing of it ordered immediatly the Militia of Nîmes and some independant Companies to march out and fight us, I was soon inform'd of it; and finding the Match unequal, I made haste to return into my Galleries, viz. the Woods of Maillerarques and Tenuset. When we were there, News was brought to us, that the Foot Regiments of la Fare and Tournac, were come into the Country, to serve against us. But for all that we disarm'd the Papists of Vezénobres, and went towards St. Hippolite to provoke the Garrison of it, but they not being willing to come out, we burn'd the Church in the Suburbs.

CAPTAIN Bimar received Orders to fall upon the Malecontents; and was overjoy'd

joy'd at that honour, and march'd in haste towards us, shewing in his Hand (every Place he went through) a Purse wherein were a hundred Pistoles; saying, that before he had spent 'em, he would destroy all the Rebels. When he was near us, and was told we were but few in Number in the Wood of *Vacquiers*, He took a Guide along with him to find us out, and said several Times to his Soldiers, that this Time he had us in his Power; while we being but Fourscore Men in all, did not think fit to come out of the Wood to fight him; but knowing by our Intelligences he intended to force us in the very Place we were in, resolved to let him march quietly half a league into the Wood, he being to march through narrow *Defile*, in order to come to us. And accordingly *Revenel*, who that very Morning arrived with twelve Men, and *Esperandieu* and *Rasteles* posted themselves with some young Men at the end of the *Defile*, and placed three Centrys at a distance from them, charging them to fire as soon as Captain *Bimard* should come near them, all the other Soldiers being commanded to file off, a little from both sides of the Passage and order'd to run towards it as soon as they should hear three Shots, which was as well execu-

Captain
Bimard
kill'd

ted as contrived; for no sooner had Captain *Bimard* come to the Place fix'd upon, but the Centrys fired on him, and our Men hearing the signal, made haste to the Enemy, who seeing themselves on a sudden surrounded, did what they could to defend their lives; but *Bimard* being the first that fell dead on the Spot, they turn'd their Hacks and ran out of the Wood; we pursued them a League firing continually upon them, several of them (through fear many times) tumbling one upon the other, so that there was no difficulty in killing 'em, and really there were two thirds of that Detachment slain in the Wood; and on our side, only four Men wounded. After which compleat Victory, we return'd to the Field of Battle to give our hearty thanks to Almighty God, for His extraordinary assistance, and afterwards strip'd the Corps of the Enemy, and secured their Arms. We found the Purse of one hundred Pistoles in Capt. *Bimard*'s Pocket, which was very acceptable, for we stood in great need thereof, and expended part of it in buying Hats, Shoes and Stockings for those who wanted them, and with the remainder bought six great Mule loads of Brandy from a Merchant who was sending it to be sold at *Anduze* Market.

On

On the Sunday following which was very remarkable, being *Christmas-Day*, we found ourselves near *Montez* upon the *River Gardon*, and resolv'd to keep that holy Day as devoutly, and as solemnly as possible: Accordingly we gave all our Protestant Neighbours timely Notice of our design, and there came to the Number of about five hundred to join with us in Prayer: But Mr. *Dela Hay* the Governor of *Alex.*, being acquainted thereof, order'd immediately all the new Converts, who were affected to the King's service, to take Arms, obliged the Gentry to mount on Horseback, and commanded them to march with part of his Garrison, being in all about six hundred Men. There was among them, a Gentleman named *St. Sebastien*, who had been for a long time Captain of Horse, and a brave Man. To him the Governor gave the command of the Horse. When *Dela Hay* saw himself thus attended he became so confident of the Victory, that he ordered a Mule to be laden with Ropes, saying he would have all the Rebels bound and hang'd in all Corners of the City: By our Spyes we were soon inform'd of what was transacting at *Alex.*, so that having dismiss'd all those who for devotion sake came to us, we met together to deli-

deliberate about what we were to do, some were of Opinion to avoid fighting and retire into the Wood near at hand, but I inform'd them that upon the Road, through which the Enemy was to come towards us, there was an intrenchment, which like a Curtain would cover all our Body, shelter us from the Horse and Gun-shots, and hinder the Enemy from discovering our small Number; adding, that if they would take the advantage of that Place and set themselves in order as I should direct, I hop'd with God's Assistance we shou'd at least be able to repulse the Enemy. *Esperandieu* went with me immediatly to take a View of the Ground, and said he found it very advantageous. My Comrade hearing the report told me they wou'd leave the Management of it to me, accordingly without loosing a Minute's time; I order'd 'em to march immediatly, and post themselves behind the intrenchment; where I placed them as much to advantage as possible. When the Enemy had discover'd us thus dispos'd, 'tis true they march'd directly to us; but acted quite contrary to what a skilful General would have done: For whereas they should have attack'd us with the Foot, they did it with the Horse. Which blunder was the cause of their

their Miscarriage. For as soon as I saw them within a small distance, I bid some of my Men to fire three or four shots, which they did with Success. The Governor's Aid de Camp being slain by his side, and St. *Sebastien's* Horse shot under him; their Horse made a general discharge upon us, but without any hurt, and then we came out of our Intrenchment, and marching directly towards them, we fell so briskly upon them, that the Troops went back and put the Foot behind them in disorder; which when we perceiv'd, we allow'd them no time to rally, but push'd them with such fury, that they were put to flight. The Governor seeing the confusion, went one Way and his Soldiers another. When we perceived the general rout, we pull'd off our Coats to run after them the faster, and pursu'd them as Hounds do Stags, gleaning now and then some of them. A quarter of a League from the Place of the attack, they met a relief of two hundred Men of *Marcillis's* Regiment, who endeavour'd to rally them; but we pursu'd 'em so close, that they had no Time to do it, and were even obliged to betake themselves to their Heels, and follow their Comrades. We pursued them half an Hour more picking up now and then some

Governor
of *Alez*
defeated.

some of them, till they shut themselves up in *St. Cristol's* Castle, wherein they intrenched themselves, otherwise, we had accompanied them to the Gates of *Alex.* But being content to have driven them to that Place, we retir'd with the loss only of six Men, and four wounded; but the Enemy lost near one hundred Men without including the wounded. We found near the field of Battle, the load of Ropes the Governor had prepared for us, but medled not with them, nor never heard whether he sent for them to keep them for a better Opportunity, however we stay'd an Hour in the Field of Battle, to render our hearty thanks to Almighty God who had fought ours, and to carry two loads of Ammunition and a good quantity of Arms which the Enemy had thrown from them, to lighten their flight. The next Day Count *Broglie* came to *Alex.* to hearten the Governor, who stood in great need of it since he was the first who ran away in haste, to go and order the Gates of both the Citadel and Town to be shut up, and barricaded, for fear we should come and force 'em.

THE next Day we went into the Wood near *Vixanobres*, where we were in no fear of the

the Enemy, and then we seriously discours'd about electing a Commander, and in order thereto we met together about Noon: A great many were for *Rasteler*, who was a Man of courage and experience; but after half an Hour's debate of the Matter, I was unanimously chosen by all, upon account I think of the good Advice I had given them the Day before, and the glorious Victory which succeeded. I was so much the more surpriz'd at it, by how much the less I expected it; and tho' I excused my self all I cou'd on account both of my youth and want of experience, it availed me Nothing; for they were as urgent upon me to make me accept thereof, as I was desirous to decline it. But when I found that all the reasons I cou'd alledge were not sufficient to prevail upon them, I told them plainly, that if they would choose me for their Commander, I expected to be obey'd as such. To which they unanimously agreed, and vested in me the Power of life and death over the Troop without being obliged to call a Court-Martial; never theless I did not any thing without the advice of six of my Chief Officers.

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The Dis-
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TWO Days after I order'd my Troop to march towards a Wood between *Durfort* and *St. Ipolite*, intending to meet *Roland* there, whom I had sent an Express to, and who came at the Day appointed. Having join'd our two Troops together, we found ourselves to be 230 Men strong; and whereas we stood in need of both Arms and Gun-powder, the first Thing we did to get some, was to go and disarm the Papists of *Savues*, which was a strong wall'd Town, and built at the Foot of a Hill upon the River *Vidourle*. We concluded, there was not a more probable Way of succeeding in our Undertaking, than to send a Detachment of forty Men to burn the Church of *Manoublet*, which the Enemy had lately fortify'd to put a Garison in, and thereby to make the Inhabitants of *Savues* believe we were buisy in another Place. In the mean Time I detached an Officer with fifty Men, commanding them to go directly to *Savues*, and to make as if they belonged to the Country Militia, by putting (as these constantly used) a Tuft of white Ribands in the Cocks of their Hats. When my Officer came to the Gates of the Barrier, the Centry demanded, who he was, and from whence he came? He answered, they belong'd to the Country

Country Militia, and were their Friends, but having been in Pursuit of the *Barbets*, were fatigued and came to their Town to refresh themselves. The Governour of *Savues* at first would not give his Consent, But at length with fair Words he was admitted and went up to the Market Place, where he set his Men in Battalia; which done, he boldly went to the Governor and begg'd Leave to buy Victuals, which was also granted him; when *Roland* and I perceived my Officer had certainly got into the Town, we came near it with the rest of our Troops, but when the Centry saw us, he gave notice thereof to the *Cor de Guard*, and the *Cor de Guard* to the Governor, who thereupon immediately went to my Officer, and ask'd him, if some of his Men were not following to join him? But he answering No; the Governor said, Then there is a great Body of Soldiers coming directly hither; to which my Officer reply'd, Perhaps they are *Barbets*, let them come, you'll see how I'll receive 'em. When the Inhabitants were convinced we were coming to give them a Visit, they betook themselves to their Arms, and begg'd my Officer's Assistance, taking him for a Friend, who replied he was very glad he had come in due Time

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to

to their Relief, and was ready to follow them to the Barrier, and hinder the Barbets from coming in. When we were come within Gun-shot, we gave out a Psalm, which was the Signal agreed upon; and then my Officer bid the Inhabitants lay down their Arms, otherwise he would fire upon them: At which unexpected Compliment being very much surpriz'd, and perceiving themselves surrounded, became like Statues immoveable; so that we entred into the Town without any Opposition. After which We lost no Time; for with all the Diligence imaginable, we searched all the Popish Houses, and carried off all the Arms and Ammunition which were found, and after refreshing our-selves for some Time, we went out without doing further Mischief than burning of a Chappel. The Governor of St. *Ipolyte*, a Town about a League from *Savues*, being timely inform'd of what was transacted, hasted with four hundred Men of his Garrison to succour the Inhabitants of *Savues*, but he came too late, for when he was in sight of us, knowing he was a great deal stronger than we; we thought the best way to avoid fighting, was to march faster than ordinary thro' hollow and private Ways, and the approaching of the Night favour'd
our

our Retreat to the Wood of *Cannes*, being then at Hand. When the Governor saw he could not come at us he retir'd; and we went far into that Wood, and march'd all the Night long, for fear he should the Day following return and visit us, and this fear caused some of our Men to throw away some of the Arms we had taken, that they might march with less trouble. One may here reasonably wonder that in an undertaking as bold, and as dangerous as this was, and wherein we in all Probability were to perish; not one of us received any harm.

S O M E Days after I went towards *Lus-san* to take a little rest there, but meeting on the Road a Recruit, of about forty Men, going into *Italy*, we kill'd and took part of 'em, and the rest ran away. When they were stripping and searching the dead Man's Cloaths. There was found in the Commanding Officer's Pocket, an order directed to all the Town Majors and Consuls of each Town he pass'd through, to lodge both him and his Recruits: Which Order being brought to me, I read it, and seeing besides a good quantity of new Cloaths and Hats, on the Ground; I immediately conceived an attempt no less

bold than dangerous, and resolved to lay all at stake for the Success of it. In the Way thro' which, I was very often oblig'd to pass, from the adjacent Parts of *Uzez* towards *Anduze*, and from those of *Anduze* towards *Uzez*, There was a Place call'd the Castle of *Servas*; a League distant from *Alex*, built upon a high and steep Hill; the Access thereto, was so difficult, that it was impossible to take it by force: There was in it a Garrison, consisting of forty Men, who were great Persecutors and had murthered several Protestants of the Neighbourhood; which was very troublesome to us in our March, discovering our going forwards and backwards, and giving the Enemy Notice thereof; so that I was very desirous to remove that Eye sore. But we had neither Ladders nor Cannons, and tho' we should have all Things requisite for a Siege, we wanted Time. Upon which Occasion I made use of the following Stratagem to surprize the Place. In the Officer's Pocket, (as I've already observ'd) who commanded the Recruits which I had that Morning defeated; an Order was found signed by Count *Broglie* to the King's Lieutenant, and by *Barville* Intendant of the Province, Commanding and Enjoining, all Consuls, Bailiffs and others, of
what

what Town soever through which the said Officer should pass, to Quarter him and his Soldiers : And intending to make use of this Order, as the true Key to open the Gates of the Castle ; I pitched upon six stout and bold Soldiers of mine, and chiefly upon one, who in the last encounter had been wounded in the Arm, and whose Sleeve was still Bloody. I ordered them to be bound in their *Barbets* Habits with Ropes, and to march at the head of my Troop guarded by twelve Men, who put on their new Hats and Coats taken from the King's Soldiers lately slain ; but being thus Equip'd we arrived at *Les Plans* the nearest Village to *Servas*, I went to the Consul of it, and told him I was Count *Broglie's* Nephew, that going towards the *Cevennes*, I met a Company of *Barbets*, and had totally routed them, and taken six of them Prisoners, whom he saw at the head of my Men ; that they were to be put in a secure Place till I deliver'd them into my Uncle's Hands, who would immediately sentence them to be broke alive ; and that fearing the other *Barbets* would come in the Night into a place so weak as his Village was, and rescue their Comrades : It was therefore absolutely Necessary they should be conducted into the
Castle

Castle and kept there till the next Morning; from whence I wou'd take them and go on my Journey: And therefore I desired him to go into the Castle and inform the Governor thereof, and of what I had told him, and particularly not to forget the Order of Count *Broglie*, and *Baville* which I gave him to read. As soon as he had seen the Names of these two great Men, he was surprized, made a bow, hasted to the Castle and acquainted the Governor with what had passed, I following him slowly at a distance. But the Governor acting like a prudent Man resolving to believe only his own Eyes went out of the Castle with a Guard. Whom when I saw coming, I hasted to him at the Head of my pretended Prisoners; and commanded my other Soldiers to follow me at a distance. After the usual Civility, the Governor desired me to shew him my Order, which I immediately delivered into his Hands, which when he had read, examined the Prisoners, seen their *Barbets* Cloaths, and the Blood fresh upon one of their Coats, the Sleeves being pierced thro', he said, you are Welcome Sir, I congratulate you for having made so good a Prize: Let your Prisoners be conducted into a Dungeon. I assure you they shall be safe, and if
you'll

you'll do me the favour to come and pass the Night in the Castle, you'll entirely oblige me. As soon as I had return'd him thanks I order'd the Prisoners Guard to bring them to Prison, when they were gone a little way, I return'd to the main of my Troop, and march'd slowly along with them, but when I arriv'd near the Castle Gate, I drew them up in Battalia. In a quarter of an Hour after which, the Governor came to me and desired me to come in and refresh my self, and to blind him the more I took with me only two Officers of misc. While Supper was a dressing the Governormade me take a Walk round the Plat Form, and admire now the Depth, and then the Solidity thereof: You must know said he, that the Duke of Rohan laid Siege to this Castle, but after twelve Days he was forc'd to raise it, and certainly I'll keep the *Barbets* from it. They came to call us to Supper, and while we were at it, several of my Soldiers insensibly slip'd one after another into the Castle, under pretence of getting either Bread or Wine; and as I had commanded them with their Guns hanging on their Slings, a little after, being inform'd a sufficient Number of them were got in, and perceiv'd that I could not fail in taking both
the

Castle of
Savres
taken.

the Garrison and Castle, I made the Signal agreed upon, and thereupon without loosing a Minute's time, my Men fell upon the Guard of the Gates, brought the other Soldiers in that were without, seized the Governor and the Garrison, and put them all to the Sword, in order to revenge so many Cruelties which they had committed against the neighbouring Protestants, which done I ordered all the Arms, Ammunition and Provision we could find to be carried away, the Castle to be set on Fire, and retired in haste with our Booty into a Wood, a League from that Place. When we had got half-way we heard a terrible Noise proceeding, no doubt from the fire which spreading itself to a Magazine of Powder which lay hid in a Vault under the Castle, and which we had no Time to discover, had blown up the building and overturn'd all the Walls round about it. As soon as this ill News was brought to Count *Broglie* he gathered as many Troops as he could and came to pursue us, but though he pursued us continually and made use of twenty cunning ways to surprize us, yet he did not succeed. He then wrote very pressing Letters to the first Ministers of State acquainting them with the disorders committed by

by us and to beg a speedy Succour. And these Ministers who had look'd on the first News of our Insurrection as a Fire of Straw, that would soon be extinguish'd, were rous'd up by his reiterated Letters, and began to fear the ill consequences of this Business. Secretary *Chamillard* had not yet inform'd the King of it, and Madam *Maintenon* did what she could to conceal it from him, hoping his Majesty would sooner hear of the End than of the Beginning of our Insurrection; but when they were inform'd of our great Progress, they thought themselves in duty bound to acquaint him with all these Transactions; Of which his Majesty was no sooner inform'd, than he endeavour'd to quench the fire. And in order thereto, he named and commanded the Marechal of *Montrevel* to march at the Head of ten thousand Men, and to destroy us as soon as possible; and this Marshal ordered *Julien* the Apostate of our times, to go before him with several Regiments.

The King
inform'd
of our In-
surrection.

W H I L E the Thunderbolts intended against us were contriving at *Versailles*, we found our selves obliged to endeavour to prevent the Strokes of them, by preparing our selves for a Vigorous defence. The first

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Thing I did towards it was, to form out of four hundred Men I had under me several Companies, and to name and appoint Officers over them, to discipline them well and exercise them as often as possible. Next I order'd, some Persons to go upon the high Mountains, and search for the most private and convenient Dens to make Magazines and Arsenals in them, as well as Powder-Mills, as will hereafter more plainly appear. While these Things were performing, I form'd a design to make the Protestants in *Vivares*, our Neighbours, to rise up in Arms, that by the means of such Diversion, our Enemies might be oblig'd to divide their Forces, and be less troublesome to us. With which intent I set out that Way; but being near a Town call'd *St. John des Annels*, I was told, that the Inhabitants had intrenched themselves in several Houses, and were resolv'd to oppose my passing through it. But after the taking of *Servas*, I fancied my self then able to do any Thing; so that I forc'd the Inhabitants Sword in Hand; kill'd some of them, took several, and dispersed the rest. I lodg'd that Night in that Place, and the next Morning I caus'd all the intrench'd Houses to be set on fire. Being about Noon arrived near *Barjac*, upon

St. John
des An-
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upon the River *Ardeches*, the Count of *Roure*, the King's deputy Lieutenant in that Province, sent an Express to know why we had taken Arms, and what we aimed at? To which I answered, *We had not taken Arms to attack any Body, but to defend our selves if we were attacked; that by the cruel Persecution, long since begun against us, and increasing every Day, we were forced to it; and whereas they wou'd not let us be at ease at home, but constrain us to forsake our Religion, which we are perswaded was the true one, and to go to Mass and kneel before Images, Wood and Stone, against the light and conviction of our own Consciences; we had rather die Sword in Hand, than go to Mass: But that we were ready to lay down our Arms, and employ them as well as our Lives for our King's Service, so soon as liberty of Conscience was granted to us, our Fathers, Mothers, and other Friends were released out of Prison and the Gallies; and when they should desist from killing the Protestants upon account of Religion.* The Count of *Roure*, being acquainted with our Answer and Demands, sent us word, *He had no orders from Court to Answer our Complaint and Pretentions.*

We receive an Express from Roure.

THIS Answer being not Satisfactory to us, we went on in our Journey towards

Vallons, and being arrived at a little Village named *la Bastide* of *Lerac* near the River *Ardeches*. The Lord of the Mannor, who had shut himself up, together with some Relations and Vassals of his in his Castle, built upon a Rock, fired upon us, and kill'd one of my Men; I was so much vexed at it, that I Ordered my Soldiers to march directly towards the Castle, and being come near it under the Shelter of some Neighbouring Houses, we set Stables and Out-Houses on fire, and by the means of some Pickaxes which we found ready at hand, some of our Men began to pull down the Out-Wall of the Yard which was not very strong: When the Lord saw we were in earnest, and fearing to be forced, he sent a Country-Man to beg Pardon, and to acquaint me that if I wou'd spare his Life, as well as the Lives of those who were with him, he would deliver into my Hands all the Arms he had in his House. This request being granted, I sent some Men in who took all the Arms they found.

Castle of
la Bastide
disarm'd.

A F T E R this small Expedition I went on in my Way and came to the River *Ardeche*, but seeing no Friends on the other Side ready as I expected, to help and Guide us in a strange Country,

Country, I thought fit not to proceed but to return towards *Alex.*: Being come near *St. Ambrois*, a Country full of bigotted Papists, and hearing that they had faithfully and gladly obey'd the Orders of the great Persecutors, and were grown rich by the Spoils of the Protestants. We punish'd their Cruelties, by burning about twelve of the Towns and Villages. Which done I went to the Castle of *Condiac*, not far from *Nimes*, intending to surprize *Aimargues*, a Market-Town in which many Papists had fortify'd themselves, and from whence they now and then issued out to plunder and beat the Neighbouring Protestants. The better to succeed in my design, I sojourn'd a Day in that Castle, and in the mean Time some strangers of the Garrison of *Uauvert*, and an Officer going to *Nimes* fell into our Hands, whom we put to Death first for our own security, lest they, if released shou'd discover us, and secondly, to be even with the Enemy: For as many of ours as they could take they sent immediately either to the Wheel or to the Gallows.

B E I N G unable to compleat my designs against *Aimargues*, I went to a Farm call'd *Loumas de Gaffarel*, a League from *Nimes*;
but

but Count *Broglie*, being the Day before told, we were in the Castle of *Candiac*, would not miss the Opportunity of signalizing himself, and thereby to undeceive the Clergy, who upon account of his ill Success against us, had hitherto look'd on him as playing Booty with us. And for that purpose, he gathered as many Forces as he could, and put himself at the Head of three Troops of Dragoons. There were with him also Captain *Poul* and *Dourville* together with their two independent Companies, each consisting of one hundred Men. The General seeing himself attended by the brave and formidable *Poul*, who lately cut off *la Porte's* Head, (having found him dead in an encounter) thought he could not be vanquish'd, and thus he march'd towards *Candiac*, being fully perswaded he should revenge himself at once, for all the fatal blows he had received from us; and obtain a compleat Victory. But not finding us in that Castle, and being told we were gone to a Place near *Nimes*, a little distance from the high Road; he halted thither in hopes to surprize us. As I wanted Gun-Powder, and several other Things, I went to *Nimes* in disguise of a Merchant, to buy them; and had left my Troop under the command of *Ravanel*, a brave and

and wife Man, who having received Intelligence that General *Broglie* was marching towards him, ordered all Persons who were come to pray to God with us, and who had brought us Victuals, to retire immediately, and set all his Men in Battle; when Count *Broglie* discovered them in the Plain, he hoped to make a quick Dispatch of them. And in order thereto, he commanded all his Cavalry to fall upon that Handful of Men and destroy them. Captain *Poule* with his Dragoons fell so furiously upon *Ravanel*, that he was put into Disorder, but our Men were not discouraged thereby, but soon rallyed again, bravely bore the Enemies first Onset, and defended themselves so well, that General *Broglie* was wounded, and *Poule* with many Dragoons kill'd: When *Broglie* felt himself wounded and saw the great Slaughter of his Men, he turned back, and all his Men followed him. They made us know that their Horses cou'd run faster than our Men. When they were hastning to *Nimes*, they found, by good Luck, a Hollow made by a Flood, behind which they rallyed, not so much to stay for us, as to shelter themselves from our Pursuit and Shots, 'till the Night shou'd come and favour their Retreat into that Town. As
for

Count
Broglie
wounded
and Capt.
Poul kill'd

for *Revenel*, when he saw it was impossible for him with his Infantry only to force the Dragoons out of that Post, he was content to keep the field of Battle, and face the Enemy till Night; which being come, both Sides retired; the Enemy into the Town, and *Ravanel* into the Vineyards. During the heat of the Battle, I was in a fine Walk, call'd the *Esplanade*, without the Town, discovering with several Citizens who I observ'd, to be in a great consternation, and much afraid the *Barbets* would come and enter the City; while they were enquiring of each other about the Success of the Battle, they perceived a Trooper, who had been wounded, running full speed out of Breath, without Arms or Hat: Some Officers went near and ask'd him the Particulars of the Battle; and he answered, as all Run-aways do, for their own Excuse; *That all was lost, that General Broglio and Captain Poul, were both kill'd, and that the Barbets, were pursuing the remains of the Detachment, and were but a little distance off.* Which was more than enough to terrify the whole City. And though the Officers did all they could, to hearten both the Trooper and the Citizens, all proved ineffectual; for they could not prevent the Trooper from declaring

declaring every where what he believed, or knew of the Matter. All those who were without the Town Gate, came in haste into it; and I follow'd them, to know how they were disposed. The Priests were crying in the Streets, *They were all undone*, and retir'd into the Forrest, and several Papists went for shelter into Protestant Houses, desiring them to save their Lives. The General himself, was alarm'd; for believing the *Barbets* Victory to be as compleat as was reported, he order'd the City Gates to be shut and barricaded; and the Citizens to take up Arms. As I was known but by a few intimate Friends, I took hold of this Opportunity; and in the hurry (with their Assistance) I got all the Thing I had occasion for. The Governor next Morning, received orders from Count *Broglie*, (who after his defeat had retired to *Bernis*) to come to his relief, with Part of his Garrison, and the Militia; but 'twas a little too late, for my Men having given me Notice in the Night of the Place they were going to, hasted thither; when the Governor set out with his Detachmen, I got amongst them, still cloathed like a Merchant, and riding upon a Horse with a Portmantua behind me, full of Gun-Powder and other

N Things

Things; I went about half a League in company with them, Discoursing now with one, and then with another, about the *Barbets*; but being come to St. *Hypolite's* Road, I took my leave of 'em, seemingly wishing them good Success. When they saw me going that Way, some of them told me I could not go very far before I'd fall into the *Barbet's* Hands, who would strip me, and take not only my Horse, and all the Money I had, but my Life also. To whom I answered, *As I had done no Person hurt, so I hoped they wou'd do me none.* I came the next Day to the Rendezvous, where *Ravanel* being arrived with my Troop, he told me, that immediately after the Enemy had retired into *Nimes*, he march'd in the Night to a Village named *Poul*, inhabited by Papists, only a League from *Nimes*, which he burn'd; and that one of our Men had thereupon observed, that *Notradamus's* Prophecy was then fulfilled; which said, *That when la Poul shall die, Poul shall burn*; That afterwards he went to a Barn between St. *Charles* and *Mousac*, to take some rest; but that favour was denied them; for four Hours after they came there, they received Intelligence, that a Detachment from the Garrison of *Mousac*, commanded by the Chevalier St. *Chatter*, was

was coming to attack 'em ; upon which my Men stood to their Arms, and ranked themselves in a fit Posture to receive them : St. *Chates* did not succeed beeter than General *Broglie* had done the Day before ; on the Contrary it fared worse with him, than with that General, for all his Soldiers were either kill'd or drowned ; those who were desirous to save their Lives, being forced to pass the River *Gardon*, and were carried down by the Stream, and swallow'd up, and those who fell into our Hands, received no Quarters. The Commander made his Escape, but I could never hear how.

A B O U T that Time we were told, that the new Regiments of *Tournon*, *Tourneau* and *La Fare*, were come into the Country ; at which, Count *Broglie* being overjoy'd, and willing to teach them the Art of War ; he ordered them to go pursue us, but we knew several Ways to shun them ; they ran up and down, but could not overtake us. They discover'd great Fires every where, but cou'd not find out the Kindlers of them ; but sent many Expresses to *Versaills* for relief. And indeed many Troops came daily to 'em, but were not Sufficient to put a stop to our Pro-

Arrival of
some Re-
giments.

gress; and the Enemy and People were so terrified, that they thought a great Army necessary to protect them against the Insult of some hundreds of Malecontents.

W H E N we heard of the Death of Captain *Poul*, we expected shortly to be freed from all our calamities; but were much mistaken, and soon convinced to the contrary. For being in a Wood near *Vsez*, to the Number of 400 Men, the Enemy got Intelligence thereof; and Colonel *Marcilly* came to Visit us, attended with six hundred stout Soldiers; whilst we thinking our selves secure in the thickest Part of the Woods, neglecting a regular discipline; some of us going one Way, and some another; and our advanced Centinels very careless, by which Means, Colonel *Marcilly* accomplish'd his design so well, and cunningly, that he got very far into the Wood undiscovered, and fell upon us before we perceiv'd him. 'Tis true indeed that the small Number of our Men who were then together, endeavour'd as much as they could to defend themselves, but to no purpose: For our defence could prove but very Weak, and we were obliged to yield to the Torrent; so that in less than an Hour's Time, we were surpriz'd, beaten,

Malecontents defeated.

beaten, and quite disperfed. Our Men who were gone into the Neighbouring Villages to seek Provisions, had no Time to join us, and others who went to Vifit their Relations, heard as foon of our defeat, as of the Enemy's attacking us. In that unlucky encounter, I loft four fcore Men, and Colonel *Marcilly* but very few. That defeat of ours prov'd fo confiderable that we were obliged to abscond from the latter End of *May*, to that of *September* following; The Enemy had furrrounded our Woods with fo many Troops, that we cou'd not come out of them, untill we had got a fufficient Body of Men, to make head againft them. And yet during all that Time we were not idle, for we were carrying on, and finishing feveral Works already begun; fuch as our Arfenals, Magazines and Hospitals, to fill up this great interval of Time, I fhall give an account of the Methods we ufed to get Bread, Arms, Powder, Bullets, Money, and other Neceffaries towards the Maintenance of an Army; and in order thereunto, I muft fay this, that I together with five or fix of my intimate Friends, had already fearch'd into feveral Dens and Caverns of the Mountains, and pitched upon the moft difficult to have access to, and appointed

pointed some of them for Magazines of Corn and Meal, other to work Gun-Powder and Bullets in, some we used as Hospitals for the sick and wounded; and others to lay up the Cloaths and Arms taken from the Enemy.

A S to the Corn we used to make our Bread of, you must note, that when we disarmed the Papists, we found a great quantity of Wheat and Rye in the Priests and Farmers Houses, who by reason of their sudden flight into wall'd Cities had no Time to take it away. And I had that Summer ordered a great quantity thereof to be carried into several Caverns distant from one another, in hopes to save some, if in case the Enemy shou'd discover the rest. As I had in my Troop of all Trades, so I ordered when requisite the Millers to take and grind in Wind and Water Mills, which were near at Hand; as much Corn as we had occasion for; and caused the Meal to be carried upon the Mens Shoulders, or on Mules Backs, and put into Caves appointed for that purpose. 'Tis true indeed, that when the Mareschal of *Montrevel* came into the Country, and heard, that we made use of that Way to get Bread, he ordered all the Wind and Water Mills to be pull'd down

down and burn'd : However, we made shift by repairing some of them to prevent a Famine, and having ground our Corn, we took special Care to transport the chief Engines and Tools, into remote and secret Places; from whence we took 'em again when we had occasion: And this Stratagem was never discovered by the Enemy. When we were willing to Bake Bread, our Bakers took as much Meal as they had occasion for, Kneading it in Country Houses, and baked the Loaves in Ovens, (which are constantly found there) And tho' the Enemy destroy'd them afterwards; yet our Masons Repaired them. The Bread being baked, was carried sometimes by faithful Country-Men, and sometimes by Mules. The Companies of *Brigade* as I term'd them, consisting of three Officers, one Harbinger, and several Soldiers; each guarded them by turns, as well as our Millers and Bakers, and distributed to every one according to his Station and Quality. And yet this Way was never used but upon extraordinary occasions: For commonly we liv'd by the Assistance of our Friends, who under Hand supplied us in our Marches, with Bread and other Necessaries; or by the Country People, whom

whom we obliged either by fair or foul Means to supply us.

A S for the Wine we drank, our Country being full of Vineyards, and consequently good Liquor plentiful, we never wanted it; for we constantly found the Cellars well stored with it, and particularly those of the Priests, and their Tithing Men. These I named our Magazines of Wine, which lasted for a long Time, by reason my Soldiers did not act like common ones, who having drunk plentifully, let all the Wine be spilt on the Ground; for they were very Sober, and took special Care when they had quenched their Thirst, to stop the Butt well, in so much that being sometimes to go through the same Places, we found the Hogsheads in the same Condition we left them, or that the Country-Men had only drank out of them, and left the Remainder for us. And if it fell out so, that we could not get any Wine, as when the Enemy forced us to keep the Woods and Mountains, we then like *Gideon's* Soldiers, drank Water our own *Jordan*, the River *Gardon*, and of our limpid Fountains. And as for Meat, we had enough of it, all the Cattle in the Fields being at our disposal, but we never meddled with them

them, unless Hunger constrained us, and even then, took no more than we had Occasion for. When we were to stay two or three Days in any Place, we went a Hunting, and seldom returned without a great deal of Game; by which means we did very often eat *Partridges, Woodcocks, and Rabbits*. But the Reader may well ask whence we could get Powder and Bullets sufficient to supply us, to maintaine a War so long, being deprived of Store-Houses, all Ingredients and Engines necessary to make them. To this I answer, We used several shifts to get them, and First, we had in Cities and Towns many good Friends, who underhand supplied us with Gun-Powder and other Things; I sent some of my Soldiers now and then into several Places to find out the Shops in which Gun-Powder was sold, and to buy a small quantity thereof at a time, for fear of being discovered. And many small Parcels being put together made a large one, which proved a great help to us; nay we even got Powder from our Enemy, for we found a way to whisper in their Soldiers Ears, that if they would sell some of it to us, we would pay as much more as it was sold for in the Shops. The Motion being very acceptable to them, they

came with some Pounds of it to the appointed Place, and upon delivery thereof, received the price agreed upon. This Traffick lasted long enough, and the Marshal of *Montrevel* had afterwards an intimation of it, and published an Order, whereby he forbade all Persons whatsoever upon pain of Death, to sell us Powder, or any thing else; which Prohibition little availed, nay he set up Gallows's in the High-ways, and hanged several Soldiers; but that did not deter their surviving Comrades from ventring their Lives to get ready Money. These were not the only Contrivances we had to get Gun-powder, for we made great Quantities of it Ourselves, but after such a Manner as deserves a more particular Account.

W H E N I was searching into the Cavernes of the Mountains, I discovered at the bottom of one of them a kind of a Natural Store, which being a little cut and filed, was able to bear up a Kettle, and leave under it room enough to make a Fire sufficient to boil the Salt-peter. I made tryal of the Thing, which succeeded so well, that I used it as a Pattern for making of more in two other Cavernes which were not far from one another. There were by good Luck, at that Time two
Gun-

Gun-powder Makers amongst us, who undertook the Work, and in order thereto, they, together with some Soldiers went into all the old Vaults, Cellers and other Subterraneous Places round about us, gathered all the *Salt Peter* they met with, and boyled it in Kettles, they cut down Willow-Branches which are very plentiful about our Rivers and Brooks, and burn'd and turn'd them into small Coal, and by reason we wanted the Tools necessary for beating a large quantity of Powder at once, we were constrain'd to make it up with Industry and Labour. We got Mortars, wherein the Soldiers by turns, beat the Powder with Pestles, performing with their Arms what commonly is done by the strength of Water; the Gun-powder being well beaten, was easily wrought into a Grain, spread over Floors and Areas made for that purpose, upon the Top of Rocky and high Mountains, and soon dried up, the Sun shining perpendicularly upon it, which being done, they took Care to put it into small Barrels, Sacks and Baggs of different Sizes, which we found in deserted Houses, and I appointed some trusty Persons to carry them into remote Places, and the most difficult to be discovered: And there were
not

not in our Troop more than five or six intimate Friends, to whom I imparted this Secret.

A S for the Bullets we made use of, and which were as necessary to us as Powder was. Necessity that has no Law, obliged us to take away all the Lead we could find, and chiefly that of the Windows of the Priest's Houses, as well as that of their Churches, this we melted and cast into Moulds, a vast number of which our Smiths had made, and thereby we had constantly a great quantity of Bullets. Being one Day in a Village near *Alex*, I perceived by chance in a Dyer's House great Leaded Kettles, of above seven hundred Quintals weight, which I caus'd immediately to be carried into the Magazines, with as much Diligence and Care as if they had been Silver, and afterwards they proved a Leaden Mine, which afforded Bullets for a long Time, both to me and *Roland*. And when we had in a Battle spent all our leaden shots, and were far from our Magazines, we made no scruple to make Bullets of all the Pewter Plates and Dishes we could get. The Wounds given by this kind of Metall, are very Dangerous, and but few of the Enemy's Soldiers

Soldiers recovered, who had the Misfortune to be wounded by them, which gave occasion to a false Report being for a long Time spread in the Country, *viz.* That we poisoned our Shots, the truth on't is, we never made use of Pewter Bullets, but when we had, or cou'd get no Leaden ones.

I come now to our Hospitals, we had Cavernes on purpose for that Use, and when any one of us either fell sick, or was wounded in any Battle, he was immediately carried thither, and well look'd after ; for I had taken Care before Hand to have Quilts, Physical Druggs and People provided for that purpose. There were two able Surgeons amongst us, who had Apprentices to assist them, they took special Care of the sick and wounded ; and as they look'd on their Patients as Brethren, they used them as such, insomuch, that they were soon cured, and we had very few who died under their Hands.

I F it be enquired from whence we got Money, which is the Nerve and Sinew of War, I answer, that sometimes we had some, and sometimes none at all. There were in the Country, some Charitable Persons, who
under

under Hand sent us now and then small Sums, but I could never discover their Names, and we generally found Money in the Officers and Soldiers Pockets who were slain, in any Battle; and all this Money got by several Ways, was laid out for buying Shoes, Hats, and other Necessaries for those who had need of them. A particular Method contrived towards Cloathing my Soldiers was, *viz.* Whensoever we fought and obtained the Victory, I order'd all the dead Bodies of our Enemies to be stript, and their Cloaths and other Things to be carried into the Places appointed for them, and when any of us wanted either Hats, Stockings, or Things, they were ready at Hand. In the Beginning of our Insurrection, I used to have Cloaths taken from the Enemy, dyed of a different Colour from what they were before, least our Friends should mistake us for them, but having learn'd by the taking of *Servas*, that the Enemy might at the sight of their own Colours, mistake us for their Friends; and so let us come near, and thereby surprize them: I kept many of their Cloaths undyed, and on several Occasions made use of them with Success, as will after appear in the ensuing Memoirs.

WITH

W I T H this last Performance, we were obliged to end our first Campaign, the Success whereof was pleasing enough to us, but the sad Prospect of a hard Winter approaching, terrify'd us mightily; for *December* being then half gone, we were to quit the Fields, and retire into Houses; but where were these Houses? We had none; we had Occasion for good Stores to nourish us withal during the Sharpness of that Season, but we neither had them, or knew from whence to get them. Soldiers commonly endure patiently all the Hardships they are expos'd to during the Campaign, in Hopes to go in Winter Time into good Garrisons, there to forget all their Toils and Fatigues with a long Rest, to defend themselves against the Cold near a good Fire, and to recover their Strength, at a good Table. But we were in Want of all these Things, destitute of Houses or Beds, Victuals, Bread or Money, and left to struggle with Hunger, Cold, Snow, Misery and Poverty, Enemies a great deal more barbarous, and stronger than our Ordinary ones.

A G E N E R A L *Broglie*, as well as his Friends believed and hoped, that tho' they had not been able to destroy us with the
Sword;

Sword, yet the insufferable Miseries of the Winter would do them that good Office, and we our selves were in great Fear of perishing either with Cold or Hunger. But God Almighty prevented it thro' his Favour, and by unexpected Means, his Providence order'd the Thing so well, that at the End of the Winter, we found ourselves in Being, and in a better Condition than we expected. In the Mountain of the Lord it shall be seen. But to come to Particulars, when we came to any Place, we sent some of our Men into the Neighbouring Villages to desire the Inhabitants, to send us Bread, and other Necessaries: And to forbid them upon Pain of having their Houses burn'd, to give the Enemy any Intelligence of our March; and the Country Men fail'd not, either out of Fear or Kindness, to afford us what we requir'd of them. On our Part we dealt very civilly with them, we exacted of them Nothing but what was absolutely necessary for our Subsistence. The Country did yet abound with all Manner of Commodities, it had not been plunder'd by the King's Army, and consequently the Loss they sustained upon our Account was very inconsiderable; for we being but fourscore in Number, (all the rest having

ing

ing retired to their Houses) could cause no great scarcity, and we never stay'd in any Place above one Day or two, on purpose to spare the Country People, and to conceal our March from the Enemy. Besides we had in the Country many hearty Friends, affording us under Hand Victuals and other Necessaries; they took Care to have all these Things carried in the Night into remote Barns, and Notice of it to be given to some of us, and we went as secretly to fetch them away, without ever meeting our Benefactors, whom we should have been very glad to have return'd Thanks to. The Sheep in the Fields were at our Disposal, but we took no more of them than we had absolute Necessity for. As for our retiring Places, we used in Rainy Weather and in the Night Time to go into Hamlets or Sheepfolds, built in or near the Woods; and thought ourselves happy when we lighted upon a Stone or a Piece of Timber to make our Pillows withall, and a little Straw or some dry Leaves to lie upon in our Cloaths. We did in this Condition sleep as quietly and soundly as if we had lain upon a Down Bed. The Weather being extremely Cold, we had a great Occasion for Fire; but residing mostly in Woods, we used to get

great Quantity of Fagots, and kindle them, and so sit round about them and Warm our selves. In this Manner we spent a Quarter of a Year, running up and down sometimes one Way and sometimes another, through great Forrests and upon high Mountains, in deep Snow and upon Ice. And notwithstanding the Sharpness of the Weather, the small stock of our Provisions and the Marches and Counter-Marches we were continually obliged to make, and which gave us but seldom the Time of Washing the only Shirt we had on the Back, not one amongst us fell Sick. One might have perceiv'd in our Visage, a Complexion as fresh, as if we had fed upon the most delicious Meats, and at the End of the Season, we found our selves in a good Disposition, heartily to commence the following Campaign.

The END of the FIRST BOOK.



T H E



MEMOIRS
OF THE
WARS
OF THE
SEVENNES.

BOOK II.



AS our chief Motives in taking up Arms were to avoid going to Mass, as well as Persecution, and obtaining the liberty of serving God as he has commanded us. Accordingly in our Woods and Deserts, our greatest Care and Business was, to apply our selves to Religious Exercises

cises; wherefore I can't any longer forbear to give a short Description of our holy Congregations, seeing it was those which raised up demolish'd Churches: It was from those sacred Fountains, that we drew Joy and Comfort in our Afflictions; and receiv'd that Strength, whereby we were enabled to undergo a World of Calamities which we daily suffered. There it was that being sequestred from the Noise of the World, and looking up to Heaven, we apply'd ourselves without interruption, to the hearing of God's Word, and to the Singing aloud our Creator's Praises. There it was in short, that through our fervent Prayers, we were indued from above with that Courage, whereby we were inabled to look Resolutely on all Dangers, and even on Death it self, and to get unexpected Victories:

LET us then say something concerning our Ministers, the Places, the Time of our Assemblies, and our Ecclesiastical Discipline. As for our Ministers, true it is, we had none of those who had formerly officiated in our Churches; they were long since either banished out of the Kingdom, or hang'd. But we had all along some Persons of our own Country,

try, who having dedicated themselves to the holy Ministry or having got learning sufficient to qualify them for the Office, were so Zealous and Charitable as to become at our Requests our own *Aarons* and *Levites*. When I was in the high *Cevennes* with Captain *la Porte*, there was amongst us one *Solomon* born at *Port de Montvert*, he was about five and thirty Years old, and had chiefly employ'd his Time in reading and meditating upon the holy Scriptures, insomuch, that he had almost got them by Heart. As soon as he had given us proof of his Capacity by his humility and private Exhortations. The Commanders of our Troop did in the name of us all, desire him to be our Pastor, promising in such Case for the future to look upon, and reverence him as such. *Solomon*, on taking our Circumstances into Consideration, accepted of the Proposition and discharged the Duty of a Minister in the same Manner, as our old and ordinary Ministers used to do, when our Churches were in Being.

T H R E E Weeks after our first insurrection in the Low *Cevennes*, one *St. Poul* descended of a good Family in *Vivarez* came to join us in the Wood of *Vezénobres*. This was

a young Man who had been a Student in Divinity, with an intent to qualify himself for the Ministry. We did not know this at first, but as soon as we were appriz'd thereof, we intreated him to make another of our Pastors, after having heard two or three of his Sermons upon Trial, upon which Occasion, we kept a Fast the two following Sundays to implore God's blessing upon him, and the third he administered the holy Communion to us.

A B O U T the latter End of *July* following 1702, one *Moses* Born at *Uzez*, came to us. His Father, who had been well read in holy Scriptures, took Care (like a good Parent) to communicate both his Piety and Knowledge to him; this we were soon convinced of, by his Pious Exhortations, so that we desired him also to share in the charge of the Ministry: And in *August* following, one *Dairez* of *Uzez* also, and a while after two other Persons, on account of their Learning and good Character, were also received into the Number of our Teachers. I am unwilling to mention their Names by reason they may be still alive in that Country, and would be put to Death as soon as discover'd: And the Reason why I have named but these four is
that

that they are long since Dead. For St. *Poul* having Preached a Year and a half amongst us, was kill'd in Fight near St. *Hypolite*, the like Fate happned to *Moses* a while after. *Daires* was at the End of the Year 1703 taken near *Pont of Comares* in *Rouvres*, and broke alive upon the Wheel at *Montpellier*. As for *Solomon*, he preach'd in the *High Cevennes* 'till Captain *la Porte's* Death, whom he succeeded; and on all Occasions extremely well discharged the Duty, both of a Preacher and Commander; he afterwards went out of the Kingdom, and preach'd at *Geneva* with great Approbation.

N O W as the Number of our Ministers increased, they ordered their Affairs among themselves; so that they officiated by Turns. They Constantly read the *Liturgy* used since the Reformation in all the *French Churches*, they preach'd twice every *Sunday*, and pray'd in the Evening. When we were obliged up-a-March to delay our Duty, the first Thing we did (tho' we arrived ever so late in any Place) was to go to Prayers. We always sung *Psalms* with loud Voices; our Ministers used to Christen Children, to Administer four Times in the Year the *Holy Communion*, and
to

to Marry those who had a mind to it. When we were to attack or to be attack'd by the Enemy, one of our Ministers said Prayers at the head of us, and exhorted us to Fight with Courage. Which done we began to sing a Psalm, and came Singing down the Hills, insomuch, that our Singing being repeated and multiplied by the Neighbouring Ecchoe made the Enemy believe we were more numerous than really we were, and struck them with Terrour. As for the Places of our Religious Assemblies, we had none settled, but during our Pilgrimage we looked in the Woods for some Place or Cave fit and spacious enough for the Hearers. We never failed to give the neighbouring Protestants timely Notice of the Place and Time of our meetings, and to take special Care to set Centinels at suitable Distance from us, that in Case the Enemy should come, they might give us timely Notice thereof, either to retire, if they were Superiour, or to fight them if equal with us, so that we had sometimes upwards of two thousand People in our Congregations.

And to the end that all Things might be done in Order, and with Decency amongst us,

us, we chose Elders, who for the most part had formerly served as such in our Churches, our Overseers took special Care of the Poor and Sick, and supplied them with all Necessaries. No Quarrels, Enmity, Calumny or Thievery was heard amongst us; all our Goods were in Common; we had one Heart and Mind, all Swearing, Cursing, and obscene Words were quite banished out of our Society. Happy Time! had it lasted for ever. We ordinarily made use of the *French* Common-Prayer-Book, and did also form a Prayer fitted to our present Circumstances and Occasions, which our Ministers added to the others.

T H E S E are some Particulars which I thought my self obliged to relate here altogether, not only to shew what we did in the Woods after our defeat; but also what we did to subsist during the War, to defend ourselves against our Enemies, and to keep good Order amongst us. I hope the Reader was not displeased in reading the Account of the extraordinary Means Necessity obliged us to make use of to relieve and sustain our selves in our Wants, I could have instanc'd several other Particulars, but as they are such as are

Q very

very useful in War, I'll say no more of them; I'll only observe that some Days after, having been intirely routed and defeated, we gathered together to the Number of one hundred and fifty in the Wood *Malierarque*, that from Time to Time several of our well-wishers and Friends, came to join us; and that the chief Reason why we hid our selves, was that the Harvest being at hand, and having amongst us several of the Chief of Families, we were obliged to give them Time to go and attend their Domestick Affairs. When the Harvest was over they came all in a Flock to me; so that towards the End of *September*, my Troops was increased to the Number of four or five hundred Men. Then we began to enter into Councils how to Act, and make our Enemies know we were not dead. For that Purpose, we went out of the Wood of *Malierarques* and went in the *Vaunage*; where in a few Days I got so considerable a Recruit, that my Troop increased to the Number of eight hundred Men. Our Enemies having call'd into the Province several Regiments, which kept us very Close, we did all our endeavours to preserve ourselves from their Insults. Upon that we went to the High *Cevennes*, there to consult with *Roland*, on the
then

then present state of our Affairs. Being near *Serignac* I heard that a Detachment of Two hundred Men, commanded by an Officer of *Menon's* Regiment was going from *Quisac* to *Summiers*, I had time to lay an Ambush for them, and as soon as they were fallen into it; we attack'd them so Vigorously, that we kill'd several, and the rest retired into a Country House from whence we cou'd not force them out, by reason they got some Succours.

FROM *Serignac*, we went to *Nages*, There was then at *Calvison* a Garrison of three hundred and fifty Men, who having heard we were in that Village, they came to attack us, fell smartly upon the Guards we had on the Avenues; but when they came to the Place where we were drawn in Batallia they found more resistance than they expected. For the Fight began and held but half an Hour. Being superior in Number I drove them with much Vigour, and pursued them as far as *Calvison*. They lost three score Men, I lost but three, and got a great deal of their Arms.

FROM *Vaunage*, we went towards *Uzez*, to put a stop to the Conflagrations and Mur-
Q 2 thers

thers committed by several Papists, who seeing the great Number of Troops they had sent in the Country, had resolved our ruine and wou'd signalize their Zeal by killing the Protestants in their Houses they were Papists, who animated by their Priest, had gathered together in two Bands, one of which kept towards *Aigalliers* and *Belvezet*, and the other towards *Aubornes* and *St. Chattes* near the River of *Gardon*. They were call'd the *Cadets* of white Cross; but they might well be call'd Vagabonds, for that Name became 'em much better than the former: For under the pretence to persecute the Barbets, they became Robbers and Murtherers. They would go in a Troop into the Houses of Protestants or new Converts to plunder and burn them, and unmercifully kill all the Men, Women and Children they could meet. I met between *St. Chattes* and *Garigues* one of their Parties to the Number of three hundred Men who took flight, as soon as they perceived me. However I surpriz'd twenty of 'em which were plundering a little Place call'd *Pallajrgues*. I caused them to be shot on the Spot, and exposed their Bodies in the High-road with this Inscription on each, *All the Cadets of White Cross which we shall take, shall be treated after*

after this Manner. This Advertisment put a stop to their Cruelties for a while.

A F T E R this expedition I went up towards *Luzan* to chastize some Papists who had taken Arms against us. I disarmed *Brujiere* and some other Villages near *Holy-Ghosts-Bridge*; and caus'd two or three of them to be burnt for example sake. From thence going along *Alez* and *Anduze*, I went to *Townack's Wood*, where I met *Roland* with his Troop of about eight hundred Men. It was there we held a Council of War concerning the right Measures we were to take against such a numerous body of Enemies, and to succour one another mutually. And in order to divest and oblige them to seperate their Troops, it was resolved *Roland* should go and keep towards the *High Cevennes*, and that I should go with my Troop into the *Low Cevennes* towards *Nimes*.

A C C O R D I N G L Y I began my March, past through the Wood of *Cannes*, and on my way I disarm'd the Castle of *Fesch*. After having cross'd the *Vidourle* near *Vic*. I went directly near the Gates of *Nimes*, where I exercis'd my Troop, the Garrison
not

not putting itself in any condition to oppose us. When I saw they were not willing to fight, and that the Alarm I had spread in that Quarter, was great enough to oblige the Enemy to send some Troops after us ; I made haste to go back towards *Vic*, where I heard that a Free Company was gone out from *Somieres* to seize on some Protestants who had been accused of Succouring us. I had Time to lay a snare for them ; for I did not oppose them in crossing the *Vidourle* quietly between *Vic* and the Castle of *Fesh* ; but as soon as I perceived the half of them were over, I fell suddenly on them, and attack'd them so Vigorously, that they were all kill'd, except a few which made their Escape into the Woods, and their Friends who were on the other Side of the River durst not come back to their Succour, though they were Spectators of their defeat, and retir'd with great precipitation into their Garrison. I lost not a Man in that Encounter.

FROM thence I retir'd towards *Anduze*, where I heard the dreadful defeat of the *Camizars* commanded by *la Porte* and *Solomon* in the High *Cevennes*, they were every one either kill'd or dispers'd ; and our Enemies
having

having search'd among the dead, and found the Corps of twelve of the Chiefs of the Troops, whereof *la Porte* was one, they caus'd their Heads to be cut off, expos'd them on the Bridge of *Anduze*, as Trophies of their Victory, and the more to terrify all other Places which they were to pass thro'. Such cruel proceedings provoked us to such a high degree, that we set a Resolution never to give Quarters to any of our Enemies, who shou'd afterwards fall into our Hands, which Resolution we executed with the greatest exactness. Soon after I got an Opportunity of revenging the death of *la Porte*; for having met near *Vielliesque*, a party of Grenadiers out of the Regiment *de la Fare* to the Number of three score, which were going from *Quissac* to *Anduze*, I attack'd them and cut them all in Pieces except ten or twelve, which made their Escape into the Woods. It is true the match was unequal, for we were three to one.

La Porte
defeated
and kill'd.

I pursued my Road towards *Alex*, with a design to endeavour a second Time to get into *Viuares*, and I went as far as *Vallons's Bridge* on *Ardeche*; but my endeauours were in vain, and I was forced to go back: For the

Express

Express I had sent before had not Time to gather our Friends to facilitate our Passage into that Country ; and there was a great many of the King's Troops in *Vallons*, which would have broken the Bridge, and besides the River was not Foordable. I contented my self with burning several Villages of the Papists, which had kill'd several Protestants of their Neighbourhood as far as *Luzan*. Being come back to *St. Mamet* near *Nimes*, I was told there was there a Garrison commanded by Captain *Ermit*, (who from a Hermit became a Soldier) a very wicked and cruel Man, and one who took upon him the Command of an independent Company with a design to fall upon us. He no sooner heard we were in his Neighbourhood, but he came to attack us. As soon as the Hermit saw five or six of his Men falling dead at his Feet, by our first Volley, he was so much terrified at it, that he ran away as fast as he could into his own Fortrefs, where he better knew how to read his *Breviary* than to handle a Sword.

W E continued our March as far as *Aubais*, a League from *Nimes*, where we arrived by night Time, we invested the Village for fear any Body should go and give Notice to the

the Enemy of our March. We lodg'd there by Tickets one Night and a Day; the next Day in the Evening, Captain *le Fevre* came to lodge there with an independant Company; he stop'd at the distance of a Cannon shot, and seeing no Body coming out from the Village, he mistrusted some Thing, and sent some of his Men to View the Place; he soon perceiv'd we were before hand with him, and that we had taken Possession of it. This obliged him to retire, and he went away with such Precipitation, that we could not reach him, tho' we pursued him half a League.

THE next Day I took my road towards *Soumieres*, where I got Notice of the Arrival of several Regiments of Foot at *Uzes*, and of the design of the Enemy, which was to make several Detachments, and to set 'em in all the Places they could fortify; from whence they could stop our Incursions, and hinder us from getting any Provisions. This discouraging News obliged me to draw near the Mountains towards *Tournac*, in order to go and consult *Roland* at *St. Philis* what we should do on such an Occasion. It was resolv'd we should strive to surprize these Detachments, and in a good Time to ruine those little Places

R

as

as soon as they should be fortified. I took my Way with my Troop towards *Alex*, where I endeavour'd by all means to surprize a Detachment of the Enemy, which was going from *Uzez* to *Alex*; but I was disappointed, because it was too late when I arrived in the Place, where I was to put my self in Ambuscade. However I had better Success at *Mousfac*; for having attack'd the Garrison of that Village, I kill'd several of them, the rest retir'd into the Church, but I could not force them out. This little advantage did us a great deal of Service, for it caused a Terror among our Enemies, which obliged them to withdraw all the Detachments they had put in several Places, and leave us the Country free, which procured rest for us some Days. General *Broglie* with Reason, fearing a general Insurrection, had rather put his Troops into the most considerable Cities of the Country, in order to keep them in their Duty, than to engage them against us. And because he saw new Regiments coming every Day, which were to be follow'd by Brigadier *Julien*, and Marshal *de Montrevel*. So that the Hope he conceived, that as soon as these two Generals should arrive, we would be destroyed more easily

easily, made him suspend his Anger and Attacks.

A L L this while we were not very quiet, this fatal News troubled us very much, Terror and Dread walked before these two Generals. Our Friends began to fear for themselves, and for us, and our Enemies to rejoice at the Prospect of our impending Destruction. *What likelyhood, said they, that those Pigmies, with a handful of People ill Disciplin'd, should resist a numerous Army of Warlike Men?* On that extremity I was obliged to go to the *High Cevennes*, and there to consult with *Roland* and *Solomon* on the Measures we should take to prevent our Ruin. We comforted and encouraged each other, and took a Resolution to fight to the last Drop of our Blood: We begg'd by our ardent Prayers, of the God of Arms to be our Buckler and Protector. In short those two Captains were of Opinion, that (in order to give some work to the Enemy) we should make an extraordinary Diver-*sion*; and seeing our Friends in *Vivarez* a few Days before, had sent us an Express to let us know their Condition and to beg of us to Succour them; it was necessary I should go there with my Troop as soon as *Julien* ar-

rived, in order to draw him towards that Side. Very willingly I consented to it, in hopes that this Journey would be more favourable to me than the two preceding, and went into the Wood of *Maillerargues*.

The Arrival of *Julien*.

TOWARDS the End of November, I heard *Julien* was arrived at *Uzez* with five Battallions. I thought fit not to go out for some Days, with a design to observe the first Motions of this new General; but not being able to penetrate 'em, I began in December to go towards *Vivarez*, and the better to conceal my Intentions, I march'd only by Night, and in the Day, would hide my self in some Wood or other private Place. The Cold was very severe, the Earth covered with Snow, and the Roads very little beaten. Being arrived near *Barjac*, the Count of *Roure*, who from *Uzez*, was going thither; having Intelligence we were in his Way, sent me an Express to beg of me to let him pass; in regard I knew his Lordship. I answer'd he might pass without any Danger, and if he would have a safe-guard, I would send one, which his Lordship having refused, I ordered a Detachment of my Troop to follow me, in order to go and meet the Count on his Road; as soon as we overtook him

him, we Presented and wish'd him a good Journey. From thence I went to *Vagnas*, to rest my self; however my March was not so Secret, but *Julien* heard thereof by his Spies; and sent an Express immediately to Baron *la Gorse*, (who commanded in *Valons*, and all the Troops in *Vivares*) to inform him of my March, with Orders to gather as many Forces as he could, to oppose my passage, and to assure him, he wou'd follow me himself as close as he could with 1800 Men. His Design was without doubt to surround us; and certainly he would have succeeded, had the Baron executed his orders; for I was in a Country where I could not have any Advice. The Baron did not fail to gather with all possible Diligence six hundred Men, and to take Possession of the Bridge of *Ardeches*, over which we were to pass. But as he was a brave and couragious Man, who had been a long Time in the Army, he was willing to get the whole glory of our Defeat, and not permit *Julien* in the least to share of it. Having learn'd by some Country-Men, that we were but a League from him in a Village call'd *Vagnas*, and that we were much inferior to him in Number, he thought there was no Necessity to wait for the General to destroy

stroy us, and that he would do it himself with his good Troops. Therefore he set on a Resolution to come and attack us the next Day, not considering the bad Weather and the great abundance of Snow. He was very like to surprize us in the Village; for I had scarce Time to order my Men to take up Arms, and to go out in haste to gain a Spot of Ground fit to put our selves in Battalia. But he came unawares upon us, and ordered his Soldiers to fire at us at once; which they did without loosing one of our Men. After having given his whole discharge, I order'd my Men to fix their Bayonets on the Muzzles of their Muskets, and to attack the Enemy vigorously, which they did with so much Courage, that they over-turn'd every one they met. The fight was very obstinate, in regard it held from ten o'Clock in the Morning till four in the Afternoon, the Enemies sheltering themselves behind Trees and Walls; but at last the Victory happen'd on our Side. Baron *de la Gorse* drop'd dead on the Spot, which obliged his whole Detachment to give Ground and run away; but without giving 'em Time to come to themselves again and to Rally, we pursued them vigorously; for I had Men that had not the Gout, neither

Baron de
la Gorse
defeated
and kill'd

neither in Hands nor Feet, so that out of six hundred Men that were in all, none were saved but about sixty, who would have met the same fate, had they not made their Escape into the Castle of *Salevas*, which is very strong. I lost but one Man in that Action and six that were wounded, which may seem very surprizing.

A S I saw I was discovered, and that it was impossible for me to go any further in a Country I did not well know, I resolv'd to turn back; But Brigadier *Julien*, who followed me, prevented it, for having heard of the Death of Baron *de la Gorse*, and the defeat of his Detachment, came speedily to us. He would not attack us with all his Forces for fear of being as unfortunate as the Baron; but laid an Ambuscade for me, placing at the Entry of a Wood a Party of Grenadiers, supported by another of Foot, which were in the Wood, and which did not appear at all, and posted some Dragoons at their Wings; himself with the remainder of his Troops taking a very advantagious Ground where he waited for us. When I saw he did not stir at all, I thought he had no more Men than what I saw; and consequently I was not to refuse to

Malecon-
tents defe-
ated.

to fight, after having so lately got a compleat Victory over an Officer as brave as himself. Having then put ourselves in good Order we began to attack with a great deal of Vigour; but I soon perceived (tho' too late) we had fallen into the Ambuscade; for the Grenadiers, who were in the Wood with some other Detachments (which a thick Snow had hindered me from discovering) fell on us, and a Body of Grenadiers set upon us in the Flank, So that we were attack'd on every Side, however we made our best Endeavours to defend ourselves; but the Balls falling upon us like a Storm of Hail, we were forced to give way to the Tempelt, and strive to run into a Wood which good Providence for us was not very far to the Left. Bad Weather and fatigue contributed very much to our Defeat; for our Arms were Wet and not in a condition to be made use of. For my particular, I escaped the Danger by a peculiar Favour from Heaven, for when we engaged with the Enemy, I was on Horse-back, and continued so 'till we were attack'd in the Flank by the Grenadiers, which obliged me to alight to encourage my Soldiers. I advanced very far among the Enemy in hopes my Men would follow me; but finding they did not, I was obliged to go as fast

fast as I could into the neighbouring Wood. The Grenadiers continued to pursue me, while I was going towards the thickest of the Wood, but Weariness and the Snow (which sunk under my Feet) delaid my flight very much, and I had like to be taken; for among these Grenadiers, there were two brave Fellows, which followed me so close, that I was forc'd to stop to make use of a Case of Pistoles I had at my Belt. I did not miss the next to me, and the furthest seeing his Comrade kill'd, and that I had cock'd the other to Shoot him, stood and let me go very quietly. That was no sooner over, but I had several others to go through, for the Country we were in was full of very narrow Defiles, which the Enemy had taken possession of, and the Rivers over-flow'd, and the passages were guarded by the Enemy, so that we cou'd not find any means to shun so many Snares; however I was obliged to endeavour to make my Escape. For that purpose I continued to go further into the Wood, where I found four of my Men almost Dispairing; but the joy of meeting them was very short, for in half an Hour after I discovered a-far off a Troop of Grenadiers waiting for us on the Road; they were Soldiers, who whilst I was Engaged with the Enemy,

T U S S had

had by the orders of *Julien* slip'd into the Wood, in order to cut off the communication of those there, having been dispers'd with my Troop: When I saw, there was no hopes for me of joining it again, and that these Grenadiers had surrrounded me; I resolv'd to fight to the last Drop of my Blood, and to try if I could find some Path or private Way to facilitate my Escape; but seeing no possibility I was obliged to throw my self and my four Men into a thick Bush and we escap'd: By chance as we were setting our selves under it, we perceived (by the greatest Luck in the World) it was on the Top of a Rock, where there was a Hollow large enough to hold us, and to which the Bush serv'd as a Door and Shelter, we had not been long therein, but the Bush took its first Form, and soon was covered with Snow, and we heard several Grenadiers passing by, but none of them had the Curiosity to come and Visit us. Their chief intent, was to pursue the remains of my Troop, and to destroy us at once. I stay'd in that Rock till Night, without being discover'd, and then went out of the Hollow, in order to find out how many of my Men remain'd about me.

B U T

BUT Brigadier *Julien* very well pleas'd at his Victory, ordered all his Soldiers in the Evening, not to pursue us any more, and went to *Barjac*, which was but two Hours March from thence. As for me, I walk'd all Night long in that Wood, not being able to get out of it. However, I thought I was gone very far from the Enemy; but as soon as Day-light appeared, I was very much surpriz'd when I found myself in the Field of Battle, where I saw *Julien* coming back with his Men to search for the wounded Men he had left there, and through the Bushes in order to find some *Barbets*; it was very easy for them to follow us by our Tracks; for tho' it snow'd much, the Snow cou'd not suddenly cover the Print of our Shoes: On our Way I perceiv'd a House at a Distance, where I went to enquire for the Road of *Barjac*, pretending to go there, that I might not be discovered. I met there only with a Woman and two Boys; The Woman told me, her Husband was in Pursuit of the *Barbets*. I desir'd her to let one of her Sons shew me the Way to *Barjac*; but suspecting we were *Barbets*, she refused me, and I had no sooner gone out of her House, but she sent a Boy to the Enemies, who were not far from thence, to
give

give 'em Notice of my Visit, and Brigadier *Julien* who immediately came towards the Place where they thought I might be. Then it seem'd to me there was no more Need to try to make my Escape: The Snowing being over, and our Tracks being visible on the Snow so that they cou'd easily follow us. The trouble I was in was so great, that I thought my last Hour was come, and that it was full Time for me to prepare my self for death, by fervent Prayers, and an entire submission to God's Will. However I was unwilling to let my Men know the just cause of my fear, but in order to prepare them the better for Martyrdom, I told them that if it was God's will, we should die, it was our Duty to submit ourselves to it; that our cause was very just, since endeavour'd to preserve ourselves from Oppressions and Miseries intended against us, contrary to the Principles of Religion, or Civil Society, and stedfastly adhered to the Truth of the Gospel, to the Glory of God, and our Salvation; and therefore it wou'd be more glorious for us to die in a just Battle, than to be taken and carried on a Scaffold or be burnt alive.

HAVING thus spoke, I went on without regard to the Danger I was in, apprehending Death to be unavoidable; but happily discover'd a Rivulet to which one of my Men shew'd me such a Way that the Enemy cou'd not discover our Tracks, we stay'd for half an Hour, the stream which directly led us out of the Wood, a quarter of an Hour after which, we found a kind of a Cave, occasion'd by the great strength of the Waters; whose entry was closed up by a large Bush drawn there by the Stream, we went in and shelter'd ourselves with the Bush the best we could, and stay'd there all Day, almost perish'd with Hunger and Cold; for we had been two Days without Eating, and the Place so Moist and Cold, that we had like to Die therein, and also for want of Rest; for we cou'd every Moment see our Enemies passing before us, and over our Heads, which occasioned so many alarms amongst us, that we cou'd get no quiet; and I protest that Day seem'd to me the longest in the Year, tho' it was the shortest at that Time. All our Hopes were in Almighty God, and he heard our Prayers, and blinded the Eyes of our Enemies.

I N the Beginning of the Night our Enemies retired to *Barjac*, and I immediately went out from the Cave with my Men, in order to go to one of our Places appointed for a *Rendevouze*, in case of any Misfortune, having walk'd half a League, we perceived a little Country House, where we went to see if we cou'd get any thing to eat; we there found an old Man who made difficulty to open the Door, 'till we made him believe we were some of the King's Troops, after which we desired him to give us something to Eat, and we would satisfy him very well. The poor Man had but six Eggs, which he dress'd for us; which I liked better than any *Ragoos* I ever Eat in my Life; he gave us some *Acorn Bread* as black as a Coal, which however, seem'd to us very sweet, with some Wine that was turn'd sour. Having been so well Regaled, we took the Countrymen to shew us the way to *St. John of Aunels*, the Road was so bad that I lost one of my Shoes in the Dirt, and was obliged to Walk Bare-footed about two Leagues. Being arrived near *St. John* I sent back the Country-Man, and gave him a handsome Gratuity. I proceeded on my Way towards the River of *Cese*, which my Troop had cross'd with difficulty, for several were drown'd

drown'd there, the River having overflow'd, and being well guarded by the Enemy. We were notwithstanding all such danger, oblig'd to cross it. and in the Time of that our Trouble, having call'd to Memory a Man of my Acquaintance, who liv'd near that River; I went to him, and having acquainted him with the unfortunate Success which I had in my undertakings, and the Danger I had luckily evaded, I begg'd of him to use his endevours, to further and facilitate my Escape. He was overjoy'd at my Arrival, for he thought I was Dead, and oblig'd me to spend the whole Day with him, tho' the Enemy were in his Neighbourhood. Towards the Evening, I took my leave of him, and desired he wou'd intrust me in some Means to deceive the Vigilence of the Guards. He shewed me a Ford, in which, I waded up to the Neck in Water, afterwards I went towards *Nimes*, in order to join my Friends. Having travell'd the whole Night and the Day following, I then found thirty of my Soldiers who had been dispers'd, and who were going to the Rendezvous. They went with me, and stay'd the rest oi the Day in a House. Towards the Evening we arrived in a Village near the Wood Bonquet, I was
so

so Weary, that I went with my Men into a Castle near that Village, in which, was an old Protestant Woman, who received us very kindly. We spent that Night very quietly, but the next Morning, when the good Woman went to open the Door, in order to go and buy some Provisions for us in the neighbouring Village, she was very much surpriz'd to see a Centry who bid her to go in and shut the Door. We were more surpriz'd than she when we heard it; for we cou'd perceive no possibility of escaping, the Village and Castle being surrounded with a Detachment of seven or eight hundred Men. I bethought myself of a Stratagem on which, to tell the truth I had but little Dependance, 'twas to desire the poor Woman to make no Noise, and to open the Door to any Person that would knock at it, without making any Resistance; in the main while we were resolved to fight till Death. Half an Hour after that, the Commanding Officer of the Detachment came and knocked at the Door, which she immediately opened, and he Demanded if there were not *Barbets* concealed in her House, to whom she trembling Answered, There were none: He seeing her in that frightened Condition, thought the sight of his Soldiers occasioned

occasioned those Emotions in her, however, he ask'd what made her tremble so; she replied, the Reason was, she had been indisposed of a Fever for a considerable Time before, and that she was alone; nevertheless, if he would be so kind as to go in, he should be very welcome; but intreated him not to let his Soldiers in, least they should commit any Disorder. The Officer (who without doubt was of a Charitable Disposition) gave Credit to the seemingly sick old Woman, took Pity on her, and desired her to go in, and shut the Door. He order'd his Soldiers to withdraw, and took his Way from whence he came.

T H E Reader may imagine what perplexity of Mind we were in all that Time, and how great our Joy was, when we saw them returning, the very Moment we expected to be overwhelmed under the ruins of the Castle. We stay'd there the remainder of the Day, and in the Evening departed, and went to the Wood of *Bouquet*, which was but half a League from our Castle, and continued our Road towards *Jeuset*; where I found several of my Men who had been dispers'd, and were impatient to hear from me, not knowing whether I was dead or alive.

T.

We

WE marched together as far as *Vezénobres*, in order to find out what became of the rest of my Troop; but the River *Gordon* was so much overflow'd, that I was obliged to wait till the Flood abated. I then sent an Express to let them know I was going to join *Roland* in the *High Cevennes*, near *St. Hypolite*. As soon as my Express reach'd my Troop, they came all together to join me, to a Place call'd *Collongna*. It is impossible to express our Joy at meeting, having been before so much terrified and dispersed, without hopes of rallying again; and we look'd at one another, as if we had rose from the Dead. Having return'd Thanks to Almighty God, I review'd my Troop, and much rejoiced to find the loss of my Men not to be near as great as I expected in two Battles, having only lost fifty or sixty Men; some of whom were drown'd in crossing the River *Cize*, but what concerned me most, was the loss of Captain *Esperandieu*, for in him I lost a brave Man, a good Officer, Councillour and Friend.

HOWEVER the Joy we conceiv'd in seeing ourselves together, made us forget all our past Misfortunes. My Lieutenant *Ravenel* gave me an Account of all that hapen'd

to him during my Absence. After being pursued by Brigadier *Julien*, he stay'd all the Day with my Troop in the Wood, but not hearing from me, concluded I was kill'd; wherefore they march'd all Night, in order to cross the River *Cize*, tho' overflow'd, there being then no other Remedy to avoid another Battle with Mr. *Julien*. Having cross'd the River, they went to rest themselves in a Village call'd *Fons*, there they had no sooner arrived, but they met a Detachment of the Enemy, which *Ravenel* perceiving, put his Men in Battalia, and advanced in order; the Enemy thinking themselves too weak, retir'd to *Luffan*; of which my Men were very glad, for they wanted Powder, and had fought enough the Day before.

As they were drawing near *Bouquet's* Wood, they perceived another Detachment coming towards them to cross the Way, and prevent their going into the Wood; but *Ravenel* having no other retreat near 'em, used his utmost Endeavours to get before the Enemy, wherein he happily Succeeded, and immediately got into a safe Defile, from whence ten thousand Men would not be able to oblige 'em to depart. The Enemy

perceiving they had been frustrated in their Expectations retired towards a Village call'd *Riviere*, and my Men went on their Road, seeking Provisions and Ammunition; and arrived in a Place where I had some Magazines, and rested themselves for two Days: The Place was very Strong by reason of steep Rocks and Thickness of the Wood. They left it by Night undiscovered, and went towards *Nimes*, Having cross'd the *Gordon*, they went to a Village call'd *Marvejol*; but had not been long there, e're their Centries discover'd a Party of the Enemy, and took a young Man Prisoner, a Servant to the Captain who commanded that Party of the Regiment, *la Fare*. He was sent by his Master to the Magistrate of the Village, with Directions to prepare Provisions for his Detachment. My Men kept the Servant, and posted themselves very secretly behind the Hedges and Houses, till the Enemy came to the Entry of the Village, where the Officer began to put 'em in order of Battle, and suddenly fell on 'em, and defeated them intirely, except three Soldiers, who made their Escape. *Ravenel* lost but one Man, and three were wounded.

THIS

T H I S Victory notwithstanding the loss we sustained by *Julien*, encouraged my Men very much; tho' they retir'd into a Wood call'd St. *Mamet*, for fear of being pursued by other Troops, the Country being full of the King's Forces, which the Mareschal *Montrevel* had sent before him, and who had occasioned a Terrour in all the adjacent Parts. Our Friends expected we should have been all defeated on the Arrival of this Mareschal, *Montrevel* which was in *February*, 1703.

O U R Men continued their Road towards *Nimes* in order to send some Person into the City to buy 'em some Shoes and other Necessaries, and went into a great Farmer's House, a League from *Nimes*, at a Place call'd *Serieres*, where they thought they might rest themselves for one Day with Safety, but were very much disapointed; for the Enemy having got Intelligence of their Arrival soon appeared on a Hill at a little distance from the Place they were in, having at their Head Mareschal *Montrevel*, they so much prompted him on to our defeat, that he was troubled that by coming so late he could not partake of the Glory of the Enterprize; but rejoic'd very much when they told him there was

was a Party of *Camisars* so near him. And came out with a Corps of *Irish* Officers at the Head of the Regiments of Dragoons of *Fiermarcon* and *Petit Languedoc*, two Regiments of Marines, and the Regiments of *Saux Rouvergne* and *Royal Contois*. The Regiment *Fiermarcon* begun the Attack, but the Ground unfit for Dragoons, being nothing but Vineyards and Walls, they withdrew with a considerable loss. The General commanded the Foot to make the second Attack. But *Revenal* who was very advantagiously posted, made a noble Defence, but at last was obliged to give Way, they pursued him from Hill to Hill, and from Vineyard to Vineyard, till Night; the loss of the Enemy was very considerable, and but small on our Side, by reason our Men were well sheltered by the Walls.

BEFORE the Fight began, there came three or four charitable Women, and brought *Ravenal* some Money, and other Necessaries, but being taken in their return, were shot on the spot. Next Day *Montrevel* ordered some of his Troops to go and take Possession of all the Passages, to prevent our Men from going to the Mountains, but it was impossible; for we knew the Country far better than he. He
marched

marched at the Head of his Forces with a Resolution to pursue *Ravenal* closely, and to engage him to a second Battle, but he could not succeed therein, for we were resolved to shun Fighting, unless we were surprized: But that which encouraged the Enemy most was, they knew the *Gordon* to be much overflowed, and thought my Men could not cross it, wherefore they would make an End of us all at once; but they were disappointed, and all their Motions could not hinder our Men from assembling towards *Soumieres*, *Calvison*, *Vauvert*, and in the Wood of *Candins*.

T H E Marechal being unacquainted at that time with such a Method of waging War, knew not how to undertake such an Enterprize; for if he should disperse his Troops they were in great danger of being cut to pieces, and if he kept them in a Body, it was impossible for him to come up to us, by reason we could go further in three Hours, than he could in a whole Day: Regular Troops not being used to March through Woods and Mountains, as we did. However he pursued them, and went from *Nimes* to *Hipolyte*, but my Men instead of going toward the Mountains,

tains, went towards *Lunel*, near the Sea, without being discovered: I was still towards *Uzes* with a Detachment of my dispersed Men that I had gathered together after the Battle of *Vagna*, against Brigadier *Julien*, where I did appear from time to time, in order to divert them; but at last I was obliged to quit those Quarters, for Mr. *Julien* pursued me very close; and moreover I had now a desire to go and joyn my Troop, the *Gordon* being then fordable. I took my Road towards *Anduze*, and went into the Wood of *Tournac*, from whence I sent an Express to my Troop, with Orders to come and joyn me. I shall now briefly relate what happened during the three Days I stay'd with *Roland*.

We received our Troops, which consisted of *Thirteen Hundred Men*, but we had several young Soldiers who were unarmed, and did not know where to get Arms to supply them. *Roland's* Troops were very ill provided with Powder, Shoes and other Necessaries, and had no Money to purchase any. We then considered what Method to take, and came to the following Resolution, That we would immediately Attack *Semenes* and *Vignau*, in order to get Arms, Powder, and what other Necessaries

Necessaries we stood in need of, and also to endeavour to increase our Forces to the Number of *two thousand Men*. These Resolutions being agreed to, I unfortunately fell sick of the Small Pox, and was obliged to leave the Command of my Troop to *Roland*, which troubled me very much, and occasioned a great Consternation among my Men, for they reposed great Confidence in my Conduct, and loved me well. Having taken my leave of my Men, I retired into a Castle of my Friend's, and *Roland* proceeded in his way, to put in Execution what we had resolved upon; which was to be the beginning of the Campaign; tho' I should not call it so, for they held from the beginning of *January* to the last Day of *December*. But this being the beginning of the Third Year, and the hardest of all, for one Day would not pass without a Skirmish, the King's Forces being so Numerous, that they were dispersed every where.

The END of the SECOND BOOK.



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 encourage us to make our home to the North
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The End of the Second Book.



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MEMOIRS
OF THE
WARS
OF THE
SEVEN YEARS.

BOOK III.

TH E King being fully resolv'd to destroy us all at once, fearing the ill Consequence of this War. For truly had the *Allies* been acquainted with the State in which *France* was at that Time, and accordingly taken their Measures; they would probably have

conquer'd all *France*, in less than two Years; as I shall shew hereafter. *Roland* seeing himself at the Head of a Body of young Men, all resolv'd to die or conquer; went to Attack the Garrison of *Sumene*: Where he no sooner appear'd, but the Governor, who without Doubt had been told of his approach, came towards him, with his Forces; but when he perceiv'd *Roland* to be Resolute, and advancing towards him, he thought it more proper to retire and prepare himself for a Defence. But in regard the Garrison was not very Strong, *Roland* soon took it; and the Governor with his Forces, were obliged to retire into an old Castle in the Town; in which he could have been taken; but *Roland* was willing to spare his Men, of which he was in the right, especially in the Beginning of a Campaign; but the Governor was so much terrified, that he had like to die. *Roland* disarmed all the Citizens, got Powder and Ball, and having refresh'd himself and his Men, left the Place, and went on his March towards *Gange*.

AS he enter'd the Town by one Gate, an independent Company, sent there by the Governor of *Hipolyte*, came in at another.
The

The Captain of the Company, finding the Match to be unequal, thought proper to endeavour to make his Escape; but *Roland* immediately sent a Party after him, who made a vigorous Attack. The Captain wou'd willingly run away, but to his Misfortune, had lent his Horse to a Priest, who had been in Company with him, and who no sooner saw the Attack, but he clap'd Spurs to the Horse, and ran away as fast as he could; so that none but he remain'd to carry the News of their Defeat to the Governor of *St. Hypolyte*. *Roland* being Master of *Gange*, rested himself for a while, but durst not stay there all Night, for fear of being surpriz'd; for he had got Notice, that the Mareschal was at *St. Hypolite*, with five or six thousand Men; so that as soon as he had disarm'd the Citizens he went to lodge to a small Borrough not far from thence call'd, *St. Laurence*.

I T was then the Name of *Camizar*, got it's beginning, or renew'd it's self and the Reason was; our Men commonly carried but two Shirts with 'em, one on their Back, the other in their Napsack; so that when they would pass by their Friends, they'd leave the Dirty and take clean in lieu thereof, not hav-

ing

ing Time to spare to wash their Linnen. But having disarmed the Citizens, they also took clean Linnen from 'em, and left 'em the dirty. In short after *Roland* had retir'd, and the Inhabitants of *Gange* were a little settled, they began to find the Exchange our Men had made with 'em; and some were Sorry, and some were Glad; but there were amongst them some jocosse Men who hearing their Neighbours Curse and Swear, told them they were happy, we had not taken away their Skins, instead of their Shirts. The Reader ought to understand, in that Country Language, a Shirt is called *Camise*, and from thence *Camisard* took its Name. And its origin begun at the Siege of *Montauban*, according to the Opinion of several of the Inhabitants of *Cevennes*. For when *Montauban* was besieg'd by *Lewis* the thirteenth, the Duke of *Rohan* sent a Succour of Eight Hundred Men out of the *Cevennes* to fortify that City, and as they were to pass through some Guards of the King's Troops, they put their Shirts over their Cloaths thereby to know each other, and get into the City, which obliged the Enemies to raise the Siege, from thence came that Saying, when there is an Attack in the Morning: *We have given them, or they have*

Origin of
the Name
of *Camisard*

have given us the *Camisade*. Some who pretend to be more learned than I, say, That this Name is derived from the *Hebrew* or the *Greek*, but in my Opinion, it has more reference to their wearing their Shirts after that Manner, than dependance on those Languages; however it is certain, that from that Time forth, they gave us the Nick-name of *Comisard*, as they gave that of *Barbet* to the *Vaudois* in the Valley of *Luzern*, by reason they had long Beards, or that they call those *Barbets* who are advanced in Age: And instead of Uncle or Aunt they say, *Mon Barbe*, *Ma Barbe*.

T H I S is not the reason why the *French* call'd 'em *Barbets*, as I have said before, for commonly the *Piementeze* used to call them *Vaudois* before the *French* join'd them, to Persecute those poor People, and they gave them that Name out of Contempt, it being the Name of a *Water-Dog*, as they gave us that of *Comisard*, after what had past in *Gange*. I believe this may be sufficient on this Subject. and now let us come to *Roland*, who having rested himself at *St. Laurence* went away the next Morning, and came down from the Mountains, in order to revenge himself on the
Mare-

Mareschal, believing he would come to the relief of *Gange* and *Sumene*; but he did not stir from *St. Hippolyte*, and only sent some of his Spies to observe *Roland's* March; and being come to a Place call'd *Pompignan*, all Inhabited by Papists, he had a mind to enter and disarm them; but he found them too well prepar'd, and resolv'd to defend themselves vigorously, having sent an Express to the Mareschal, who was but a small League distance from that Place, who immediately came out with all his Force. *Roland* got Notice thereof, but too late, for before he cou'd find an advantagious Ground to rank his Men in order of Battle, the Dragoons of *Firmarcon*, *St. Cernin* and *Petit Languedoc*, with a hundred *Irish* Officers, on Horse-back, fell upon him, most desperately.

RAVENAL who commanded my Troop, was posted on a high Ground, where Dragoons cou'd not reach him, good fortune for *Roland*, or he wou'd have been cut in Pieces, endeavouring to join *Ravenal*, the Mareschal with forty Companies of *Miquelets*, and several Regiments of Foot, advanced towards *Roland*, to support the Attack. The Action was Bloody and Obstinate, for half

an Hour; but *Roland* and *Ravenal* seeing themselves much inferior in Number, were obliged to abandon their Post, and to cross a Plain; where the Dragoons fell upon them and made a dreadful Slaughter. *Roland* retired into a Wood, in order to go towards the Mountains, and was pursued by the *Miquelets*, who without doubt wou'd have defeated him entirely, had they not delay'd by staying to strip and Plunder the Corps, for they are Men used to fight in the Mountains. That Day was very fatal to us, for we lost half of our Men, and that thro' *Roland's* forwardness: For had he stay'd in the Mountains as I advised him, the Mareschal's whole Forces could not have attack'd him.

Roland
and *Ra-*
venal de-
feated.

THOSE of our Men, who made their Escape, came and told me this dreadful News, which added very much to my grief, being then very ill of the Small Pox. However, finding my self on the mending Hand, in a few Days I rose up and went towards *Anduze* to a Place where *Roland* had retired with the Remaining part of his Troop and mine. I found them in a very deplorable Condition, the most Part of them shattered without Arms or Shoes. As for the wounded they

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made

made their Escape the best they could, thro' the Wood, being favour'd by the Night; tho' several of 'em were soon put out of Pain by the Enemy who overtook them. I heartened them the best I could without saying any Thing to *Roland*, who was as much concern'd at his Misfortune, as the Mareschal was pleas'd at his Victory, who thinking he had entirely defeated us, returned with all his Forces to *St. Hipolyte*, which gave us two or three Days Time to Breath.

BUT he was strangely surpriz'd, and provoked at our sudden appearance again, for I had no sooner encouraged my Men, and comforted *Roland*, than leaving him in his County, that is to say, to stay in the Mountains, but I march'd towards *Uzez*, to endeavour to provide some Arms, and raise new Recruits; I had with me a Detachment which was not ingaged at the fight of *Pompignan*, who went the very next Night to burn the Church of *Durfor*, to let the Mareschal know we were not all dead, which obliged him to come out again in order to pursue us. He made several Detachments out of the Body he Commanded, besides those he had already made before the Battle, viz. under the Command

mand of Lieutenant General *la Lande*, Brigadier *Julien*, Brigadier *Planque*, and several other general Officers, some of whom were in the *High Cevennes*; and others at *Allez*, *Anduze* and *Uzez*. He garrison'd in several Places, that he might be the more ready to disturb and deprive us of all Means of getting Provisions. The whole Country was full of Troops, who burnt several Towns, put some of the Inhabitants to the Sword, and plundered the rest. When I came within about two Leagues of *Uzez*, I went to two or three Villages, which I forced and disarmed; after which, entring the Wood of *Bonquet*, I determin'd to go and disarm all the Papists of *St. Esprit*, *Brugiere*, and *Bagnol*, which I effected. These People thought we were entirely routed after the Battle of *Pompignan*; for when the Court of *France* get the least Advantage over their Enemies, they always report it to be abundantly greater than it is, in order to blind the poor People.

The first Village I went to was *Brugiere*: Some of the Inhabitants made their Escape, and the rest I took without doing them any other Hurt, than that of disarming them. From thence I went to two or three other Places,

Places, where they rung Bells to alarm the Country, whereupon all the Papists retir'd to *Bagnol*, leaving me Master of their Houses and Cattle; I did not find many Arms, for they had taken them away with 'em, but I set on Fire several Houses of those, who had been cruel to the Protestants, which obliged all the Papists round about *St. Esprit*, *Bagnol*, *St. Quantin*, and several other Places to gather together, to the Number of more than three thousand Men; whereas my Forces were in all but five Hundred. Having alarm'd them, I returned the same Way I went, and in the mean time the Garrison of *Ufex* came out to support the Militia in pursuit of me, but I retired into my Fortrefs, the Mountain of *Bouquet*, from whence all the Mareschal's Forces could not have forc'd me. I stay'd there all Night the better to conceal my March from the Enemies, who were in pursuit of me from several Parts.

Roland had no more Rest than I, for he was pursued by Brigadier *Julien* who had four Regiments of Foot, and forty Companies of Miquelets, and often attack'd him; but he had the Advantage of them in being well acquainted with the Country. There were in the *High Cevennes*,

Cevennes, besides *Roland*, two other Parties commanded by *la Rose* and *Castanet*, who kept the Enemy in play. There were also two others towards *Louzere*; one commanded by *Solomon Couder*, who (as I said before) took the Place of *la Porte* after he was kill'd; and the other was under one *Marion*; these four Parties consisted of the Number of about six hundred Men; but all this was only to alarm the Enemy, for tho' they liv'd in a cold Country, they dreaded Fire, however they made considerable Diversions, for they kept Brigadier *Planque* in Motion, who had six or seven Regiments of Foot.

Roland was, as in the Centre, and kept about *St. Hipolyte*, *la Salle*, and *St. John* of *Gardonnainque*, a Country extreamly strong by it's Mountains and Forrests, but very bad for Provisions. He had about six hundred Men under his Command; sometimes they were together, and sometimes part of them would retire to their Houses, according as they had intermission from the Enemy. As for me I commonly kept in the Plain towards *Nimes*, *Sommieres*, *Uzez*, *Allez*, and *Anduze*, so that I had every Day some Encounter with them. The Body which I Commanded consisted

sisted of fifteen hundred Men, but were never together, in regard we could not have found subsistence in one Place, which would have given the Enemy opportunity to destroy us more easily; therefore I divided them into several Detachments, which gave them work Night and Day, and succeeded admirably well; for the Mareschal would receive three or four Expresses at once, with News that the *Camisards* had appeared in such and such Places, and defeated some of his Detachments: But we so appeared to the Enemy, that when we were but one hundred Men, they thought us to be five, so that they could never know how many we were, or how to fall upon us.

By this means we grew so formidable to the Mareschal, that notwithstanding we scoured the Country at pleasure, almost in his view, yet he durst not draw out his Troops from the Chief Cities for fear the Inhabitants should declare for us; and that we should make ourselves Masters of them, nay he went so far as to write to Court, desiring more Troops, and acquainting them, that otherwise it was impossible for him to reduce us: Altho in a Letter which he wrote after the Battle of *Pompignan*

nan, he had assured them, they would never more hear of the Rebels, for that he had reduced them so effectually, that there remained but a few, who had made their Escape, and never durst appear.

The truth is, by the Defeat of *Vagnes, Nîmes, du Mass, de Serires, and Pompignan*, our Forces were so broken and scattered, that it was very probable, we could never have rallied again: And really it was very surprising, considering we were entirely undisciplined; 'tis true, I was absolute in my Command, but had no more experience than my Soldiers, wherefore we owed our Success to Divine Providence, which orders all things, and sustained us in our greatest Calamities, working continual Miracles in our Favour; and amongst the rest, it is very remarkable, that sometimes we perceived our Enemy so much disheartned, that they could not resist us, tho four to one in Number; this I can say, that it was not by our Valour we overcame them, altho' their Troops were well disciplined, and we but Militia without Order, but there was this difference between us, that we fought for the Truth, and our Liberties, and they for a Tyrant, who had violated both
Human,

Human and Divine Laws against his faithful Subjects, who were obliged to take up Arms in their Defence, after a Persecution of *Thirty Years*, contrary to his sacred Oaths so often reiterated, and recorded in Parliament. But that I may not prove tedious to the Reader by enlarging too much on the Matter, I shall proceed to the Subject,

I left, as I said before, the Neighbourhood of *Bagnol* and went towards *Alex*, where I heard, that Collonel *Menon* with a Regiment of Foot was coming from *Ufex* with a Commissary General, convoy'd by a Detachment out of *Tournau's* Regiment, who were as strong as we, I resolv'd to attack them on the Road, and to that purpose went to post myself near *Vezénobre*, in a little Wood, where being inform'd of my waiting for him, as he was of *Saverdant's* Family which never recoils or draws back, he put his Detachment in Order of Battle, and march'd directly towards me, in order to oblige me to quit the advantageous Post I had taken Possession of. As soon as he drew near the Place where I was, I answered his Expectation, and accordingly quit-
ted it, but as he had not taken the Precaution to view the Ground, we charg'd them both in the Front and Flank all at once. His Sol-
diers

diers being surpriz'd, gave Ground and run away without any possibility for him to rally them; and my Men pursued them so vigorously, that none cou'd make their Escape, but those who were on Horse-back, and a few who fled into the Wood: But to their Misfortune, not knowing the Country, and being pursued very close, they soon found themselves between us and the River *Gardon*, in a Place that was unfordable, so that they who escaped the Battle were drown'd.

T H I S small advantage cheer'd up the Hearts of my Men, for I had in that Action, but five kill'd, and six wounded; and I got a good quantity of Arms, wherewith I furnish'd some new Recruits; and also, some Money, which came very seasonably, having been in great want thereof, ever since the defeat of *Pompignan*.

T H I S loss so vexed the Mareschal, That he resolv'd never to give any other Convoy. But from Time to Time, some of his Garrison removing their Quarters, I took Care to Convoy them my self. It was then the Mareschal began to disperse his Forces into all Parts where he thought they could
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be safe. And I believe at the same Time he fell in Love with a beautiful Lady at *Alex*, with whom he became so enamour'd that he had almost forgot us. 'Tis true she had all the advantages on her side of Wit and Beauty, and nothing less than consummate Charms cou'd possibly have had so great an effect on that Gentleman, being handsome, and inclin'd more to amorous Speeches than his own Profession, he easily obtained a Victory over the fair Sex wherever he pass'd; but here he was forc'd to yield his Heart, and give himself up to this Lady, so that he could leave her but seldom; however to save his Honour, he came now and then after us with a strong Body of Forces, and not finding us, suddenly return'd to his Mistress.

That was a very Sweet and agreeable War for him after his Fatigues: But it was not so with me, for I was forc'd to make Excursions into the Country, having no other Tent but the Sky, and very often no other Bed than my Mother Earth, my Mind was taken up with too many troublesome Causes to leave room for Love; I was not only oblig'd to provide Necessaries for my Troop, but also for several Families, whose Chiefs were with

with me, and to find out Means to preserve them from falling into the Enemies Hands, who took away every thing they could find to oblige my Men to surrender themselves up, and abandon me or Starve. I commanded People without Discipline, and who serv'd but voluntary, tho' it was as much their own Interest as mine: However in all Societies of Men there are a sort of turbulent contradicting Spirits, and very difficult to Govern, who like nothing but what they propose, or do themselves; nor were we without enough of these; one may easier imagine than express the Difficulties there are on such occasions; yet did not this hinder but that my Power was very absolute, and all Matters in Dispute were decided by me, and whatever I commanded was obey'd; the *French King* himself was not more absolute over his Subjects, in short my Will amongst them was a Law.

I was very well acquainted with all the Country affairs, and People reposed so much confidence in me, that it was in my power, to raise up in Arms all the *Low Languedoc*. And the Reason I did not, was that I expected suddenly some relief from the Protestant
Y 2 Powers

Powers as *England* and *Holland*; in the while I was thus employ'd I receiv'd an Express from *Roland*, desiring me to go and meet him in a Place near *la Salle*, for he had a Matter of Moment to communicate to me. I left my Troop towards *Sommieres* under the Command of *Ravenal*, and went with a Detachment of fifty Men to the Place appointed by *Roland*, here I found him with those I already named, who commanded some Parties in the *High Cevennes*. After the usual Compliment, *Roland* told me he had received a Letter out of *England*, from the Marquis of *Miremont*, containing Words to the effect following, viz. *That the Queen being inform'd of our deplorable Condition, was resolv'd to send us some Succours, and that he wou'd come himself to help us; desiring us in the mean Time to behave our selves with Prudence, till his Arrival.* 'Tis easy to conceive what joy that good News caused in us, tho' we had not the Honour to know the Marquis otherwise than by his Character, we were exceedingly elated upon the same, and resolved to keep our selves in a defensive Posture. We sent him an Answer with an Account of the present State of our Affairs, and in a short Time after we receiv'd a second Letter, which confirmed what he had Writ-
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ten to us before, afterwards he sent us an Express call'd *Flotar*, to know what measures he could take to come and Succour us. Having conferr'd together, we sent him back the Express with all the Necessary Instructions we could give him: He arriv'd safe in *England*, and gave the Queen an exact Account of his Journey, and we were assured, by a third Letter, of speedy Relief, which proved very prejudicial to us afterwards; for it was then we were beginning to get the better over our Enemies, and our Remissness gave them Time to take Measures to stop our Progress. I do not pretend to blame the Marquis's Slowness, for I believe it was not his Fault, being much inclin'd to come and succour us, but being unexperienced in the like Affairs, and under a Necessity of taking Advice; it was very difficult for him what to resolve upon. He had Persons about him, who acted with more Regard to their own Interest, than the Publick Good. They spoke of Nothing else in the Court of *France*, but the great Preparations *England* made for our Succours, as if I shou'd desire a Man to take care of himself that I had a mind to kill him, and in the mean time to bid him not to be afraid, that I wou'd do him no Hurt. For all the Projects of
Monfieur

Monfieur *Miremont* were as well known in the Court of *France*, as in *England*; which was the Secret of the Play: And all this by the Persons whom the Marquis had chosen for his Counsellors. This is what is generally incident to Princes, who communicate their Secrets to feveral Persons. For the Court of *France* being well inform'd of every Thing, took fuch effectual Measures, that it was impoffible for us afterwards to have any Correfpondence with foreign Countries; fo that all our Hopes of the fair Promifes the Marquis made us, from the Queen, vanifh'd, after a Delay of 18 Months: I believe it was not his Fault, as I faid before, for had he been able to fly with ten thoufand Men, to the Place we were in, I am fure he wou'd have given no Quarters to his Relation's Troop. The Truth is, I believe *France* had then Emissaries in *England*, as it ufually has, which put a Stop to the Project of Monfieur *Miremont* and prevented the Queen and her Allies from making ufe of fo favourable an Occafion to ruin *France*, which might have been effected in lefs than two Years; for being Mafters of the Sea, they might eafily have fent us Succours, at leaft fome Arms and Money: For had they fent us but twenty thoufand Pounds Sterling, we
would

would soon have made up a Body of fifty thousand Men; but as I said before, they look'd on this War, as a sudden Blaze which soon vanishes away, and therefore neglected to send us any Relief. 'Tis wonderful how we cou'd resist for so long a Time against twenty thousand Men and two Mareschals of *France*; but it may be easily perceiv'd, that the Hand of God conducted us, and had the King of *France* but opened his Eyes, he might have prevented many Evils which happened in his Kingdom, besides those which may happen hereafter; but God has given him a Spirit of Error that he may hearken to Lyes, and when the Measure shall be full, then he will give him according to his Works. We have an Example thereof in the Person of *Pharaoh*, whom God punish'd with his People for persecuting the *Jews*. However the Allies wou'd have saved some Millions and a great deal of Blood had they considered the Advantage they cou'd have reaped thereby; but 'tis difficult to discover the Policy of Princes.

If the Reader will seriously consider the Advantage the Allies had by our War, he'll soon be perswaded that if the twenty thousand Men who were sent directly against us had
been

been employ'd either in *Italy*, *Germany*, or *Spain*, they would have put a Stop to the Progress of the Allies, especially against his Royal Highness the Duke of *Savoy*, or in *Spain* against the *Portuguese*. This is sufficient to prove what I said before.

ALL these Reflections do not make me forget that after I had spent a whole Day with *Roland*, I went back again with my Detachment of fifty Men in order to join my Troop towards *Quisat* where I had left it. Colonel *Menon* was there in Garrison with his Regiment, of whom the whole Country were in dread by reason of the Cruelties committed by them; but it was when I was far from his Neighbourhood otherwise he durst not come out from his Fortress, still remembering our Encounter at *Vezenobre*, and fearing a second at my Return. I gave Notice to my Officers of the good News *Roland* had received from *England*, which rejoiced them very much, and put them upon consulting what was proper to be done 'till Succours shou'd arrive. When we were thus consulting, I heard, with Surprise, of a terrible and bloody Design of Mareschal de *Montrevel*, which was to put all the Protestants to Fire and Sword: Our
Surprise

Surprize was the greater, for when that he came first into the Country, he seem'd to be very humane and affable, hoping (without doubt) by that means to put a stop to our Insurrections and Eruptions; but we were soon convinced to the contrary. Whether this was the Motion of his own, or whether he was set upon it by some Orders he received from Court, or instigated thereto by the wicked advice of intendant *Baville*, is hard to determine; but it's certain *Baville* helped the Matter on, being the cruelest of Men, for he inform'd the Mareschal that he could not prevail with us by fair means, wherefore he began his tragical Scene by the burning of Towns, *St. Baufelis*, and *Souzet*, three Boroughs about a League from *Nimes*. And in the mean Time he sent Orders to the Garrison of *Sommieres*, to use all the Protestant Villages of their Neighbourhood after the same Manner, which they accordingly did, and begun by the Burning of *Canne*, *Servignac*, *Madazel* and *Poignau*, they took away all they cou'd meet within these four Villages, even Women and Children. I was two Leagues from those Places when they brought me this News, but I repaired thither with all possible speed and diligence, but the Mischief

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was over before I came to their Relief; however I pursued them with eight hundred Men as far as their Garrison, but could not come up with them, for they shut themselves up in the City of *Soumieres* with all their Booty; wherefore I set the Suburbs on fire out of Reprisals, and to oblige the Garrison to come out, but they wou'd not, but fired at us with Cannon over the Walls, tho' they were as Strong as we. 'Tis true 'twas almost Dark when I attack'd them, wherefore they did not know what Forces I had with me. I had like to Surprize them, the Gates being open when I arrived, and had I known the City well, 'tis probable I should have taken it, the Garrison being very much terrified, as I perceiv'd, for being under the Walls of a Nunnery, I heard nothing but *Jesus Maria, blessed Virgin Mary, have mercy on us*, and from Time to Time they sent to know if we had got into the City. Their Terrour increased when they saw the Suburbs on fire, believing we had invested the Town, and wou'd serve them after the same Manner: Having terrified them thus for two Hours, I retired to see if the Garrison wou'd come out after us, but they did not stir, and were glad to be free from us; from thence I went to a place

Place call'd *St. Series*, all Papists, half a League from *Sommieze*; I burn'd it, after having taken all the Arms I could. From thence I went to another Place call'd *Saturargues*, which I used after the same Manner, and sent word to the Mareschal, that if he'd burn one Town, I'd burn two; which message did not at all move him, for he sent orders to Monsieur *Julien* who commanded at *Pont Monvert* to burn threescore Burroughs or Villages all inhabited by Protestants; *Roland* gave me Notice thereof, and we resolved to go and Succour them: *Roland* with all the Detachments, that were in the *High Cevennes*, went one Way, and I with a thousand Men went another; with a design to attack *Julien*, but he got Notice thereof, and retired into the Fortrefs, he had with him six Regiments of Foot, and twenty Companies of *Miquelets*. Brigadier *Planque* was towards *St. John Gardonnainque*, with eight Regiments of Foot, and ten Companies of *Miquelets*, burning and destroying all they met in their Way, and towards *Uzez* all the Papists took up Arms, and fell on the Protestants, burning, killing, and plundering all they could meet with. In short the whole Country was full of destruction.

A S I was going after *Julien*, I arrived at a Place call'd *St. Paul*, three Leagues from *Alex.*, and passing by the Castle *Mendajor*, where there was a Garrison of a hundred and fifty Men, they came to me, where I halted and not knowing the Forces I had with me, attack'd us Vigorously, but were received after the same Manner, so that the greatest part of that Garrison was defeated, and the rest retired into the Castle, which was very strong, and I pursued them even to the Gate; in which Encounter, having but three Men kill'd, and two wounded, I proceeded on my Journey; as soon as the Remainder of the Garrison heard I was gone far from them, they abandoned their Castle, and retired to *Alex.*

T H E next Day I arrived at a Place call'd *La Croisette*, two Leagues from *St. John*, being fully resolved to fight *Brigadier Planque*, had I met him, but he retir'd before my Arrival. I went to *Roland* near *Sancta Cruse*, where I found him in a very great consternation, occasioned by the Conflagrations the Enemy had committed, which deprived him, and the others, of all Means of getting Provisions. In short the Desolation was so great, that the most inhumane Heart would be moved thereat.

I propos'd to go and attack Brigadier *Planque*, or *Julien* in their Intrenchment ; but *Roland* and the rest of the Chief Officers were against it, saying it would be impossible to force them, besides the Succours they would receive from the Mareschal. We stay'd two Days in that Place Marching and Countermarching to oblige the Enemy to come out, but all to little purpose, for we were oblig'd to disperse, having no Provisions. *Roland* went to *Ginouliac* where he attack'd the Garrison, forc'd it, and put all to the Sword. The others towards *Louzere*, where they burn'd some Villages.

I went towards *Uzès* and *Nîmes* to Succour the Protestants ; where I found some Parties of the Enemy, which I commanded to be put to Death : After which, I sent *Quatinas* with a Detachment of fifty Men on Horse-back, to go and pursue the *White Camisards* (a Name which the Papists about *Pouille* had taken) who were near *Nîmes*. He found a Detachment of them, cut them in Pieces, and went as far as the Gates of *Vauvert*, *Aigumorte*, and *Aimargues* to allarm all that Country.

THE Mareschal came out from *Nîmes* with all his Forces, but finding no Body, retired

tired to *Allez*, near his Mistress. I went towards *Anduze* to join *Roland* near *St. Hipolyte*, and being between that Place and *Durfort* (a Country full of *Rocks*) waiting for him, a Detachment out of *laFore*'s Regiment, who was a Convoy to a Commissary General from *St. Hipolyte* to *Anduze*, past by the Place where I was. I let them pass by without the least Molestation, for I had no Mind to be discover'd; but coming back, they perceived us, fell on us and gave us their first Volley, which kill'd three of my Men, and wounded as many: But in regard I was superior to them in Number, I surrounded and defeated them all, except one who made his escape to carry that fatal News to the Governor of *St. Hipolyte*, who came out after me, with all his Garrison: Had I been acquainted therewith, I would have gone to meet him, for I was very desirous to fight him, by reason he was a Man full of Bravadoes when he was within his Fortrefs; but he only came half Way, and let me retire very quietly. Not finding *Roland* towards *la Sale* as I expected, I stay'd there two Days, where many People came to me with vast Complaints of their deplorable Condition, and to beg of me to stay amongst them, otherwise they'd be

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undone. I comforted them after the best Manner I cou'd, and promised to return to 'em again. All that while *Roland* was observing Brigadier *Planque*, but he was not strong enough to attack him, unless he cou'd surprize him, which was very difficult. From thence I went towards *Soumieres* and *Vaunage*, to protect the poor Protestants of that Country, who were all threatned to be murdered. I happily arrived to the relief of that poor unfortunate People the very Moment their cruel Murtherers, were going to put their bloody Project in Execution, a great part of them had already cross'd the *Vuidourles* when I arrived. I fell upon 'em of a sudden, so that many of them were drown'd, and the rest kill'd or disperfed, so that afterwards they durst not attempt to attack the Protestants. After this Expedition, I went towards *Nage* a Woody Country, where I retired very often to endeavour to surprize the Enemies, when they made any Detachment. That Day being Sunday, and having a mind to rest my self there, I gave Notice thereof to all the Neighbouring Protestants, desiring them to come to me, in order to spend the whole Day together in Prayers. Our Assembly consisted of the Number of a thousand Persons of
both

both Sexes, and all Ages; while we were thus employ'd at our pious Exercises, I got Notice that *Fiemarcon's* Regiment, with a Detachment of Foot, was coming to attack us, my Troop was then very weak, because of several Detachments I had disperfed abroad; so that I was in very great Trouble, especially because of the great Number of People, that was with me: But not having Time to deliberate, nor able to retire, without exposing all those poor People, I posted my Men immediately in an advantagious Ground, and I went alone on Horse-back to view the Enemy, which having done, I was returning by a deep Road which I thought to be the shortest, but was no sooner therein, than I perceiv'd a Cornet and two Dragoons, who got under the shelter of *Olive Trees*, without my perceiving them, and it was impossible for me to go back; to tell the truth I thought I was undone, but resolv'd to sell my Life at as dear a Rate as I cou'd, and was both well mounted and armed.

T H E Cornet advanced towards me saying, *You are Cavallier, surrender your self, and you shall have good Quarters.* Whereto I replied, *I would not,* and being near him I presented

ted my Gun, which had two Barrels and dismounted him. I thereupon let my Gun hang and took my Pistols, each of which had also a double Barrel. The Dragoons fired at me but having miss'd, they came with their Hangers; I shot the first that came to me, and the other would willingly have made his Escape, but it was too late, for he met with the same Fate of his Commander and Companion.

A F T E R this I return'd to my Troop, which I found, according to my Orders, behind a Wall on the top of a Hill, but what perplexed me most was, that I feared the Women who were with them would create a confusion amongst us with their Cries, when we should engage, not being accustomed to the Noise of Guns: I put them in a hollow Place, in the middle of my Troop, the Hill being in the form of a Demi-Circle; but Providence gave such Courage to some of the Women, that as soon as we were engaged, they encouraged the Men, and pursuing the Enemy, with Stones in their Hands, were a great help to me; for the Enemy were two to one, by reason of the Detachments I had made, as I said before, for they had seven hundred Men and I had but four; the Fight

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held about half an Hour, there being some Walls, behind which, the Enemy posted themselves, in order to dispute the Ground; but were at last obliged to quit, and leave me Master of the Field, a hundred of their Men being kill'd on the Spot; and but six of mine, and eight wounded.

I then returned to my Camp to give God Thanks for my Victory. I got a great Number of Arms, which serv'd me for furnishing above one hundred Men, which came to me that same Day, either out of fear of being discovered, or out of the Encouragement this Victory gave them: The Mothers encouraged their Children, and the Wives their Husbands to fight; the fair Sex never shew'd so much Valour as then. I will relate here what a young Girl did of about eighteen Years of Age: The Enemy being posted behind a Wall, as I said already, when we attack'd them; she was the first that jump'd over the Wall with a Hanger she had taken from a Dragoon, who was wounded, crying *Kill, Kill*, and cutting in Pieces every one she met with undaunted Courage: Which occasioned the Enemy to say, *There were Men amongst*

mongst us disguised in Women's Apparel, which fought like Devils.

A F T E R the fight, I convey'd all these People as safely as I cou'd and retired into the Woods of *Conne* for fear of another Visit the next Day, which I did not at all desire, for we very much wanted Rest, after so many Fatigues; during the Combat, the Marechal was at *Alex* diverting himself with his incomparable Lady, where he heard with Grief the defeat of his Detachment, being forc'd to abandon his Courtship to come after us, he gathered together all the Forces he could, and came towards *Nimes* with a Body of ten thousand Men in order to fight us, or more properly Speaking, to surround us, but we were gone into the Woods, which was always my Place of Refuge, and where I retir'd when closely pursued by a Body stronger than my own. He being in quest of me two or three Days, return'd as he came, only that he burn'd the Village of *Vernis*. I hope the Reader will not be displeased if I relate here, something concerning the Marechal's Amours.

T H I S General who had exercised himself in taking Towns, and gaining Battles,

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came

Amoursof
Mareschal
Montrevel came into the Province, where he did not appear as a *Novice* in matters of Love, which was his predominant Passion, and it is not to be admired, (if being handsome, liberal and vested with authority of his Master, followed by a magnificent Equipage) he pleas'd our provincial Ladies, who thought themselves very happy when they cou'd attract to themselves some of his sweet Looks ; and would think to be at the height of their Joy and Felicity in possessing his Heart. *Montpellier*, *Nimes*, and above all *Alex* is a faithful Witness of his Conquests and Triumphs ; it was there he exercised with success his fine Qualities in besieging and taking the Hearts of our fairest Nymphs. Several Letters which I intercepted are certain Proofs of the tender Sentiments they inspired in the fair Sex. I cou'd divert the Reader with an account of some of those Letters, if Truth were to be Spoken at all Times ; but I'll only say, that his most favourite Mistress, was one of the handsomest Ladies of the Province, whose Husband was gone to *Paris* about a Law-suit ; which whilst he solicited, and perhaps lost ; the Mareschal gained his with the Wife ; for I was informed that

that after twelve Months she brought forth a little Marechal to the World.

WHILST Monsieur de *Montrevel* was thus agreeably engaged with the Ladies, he was very severe to all Protestants, and his Officers executed his Orders, with the utmost Rigour : For as soon as I had arrived in the Mountains of *Anduze*, where I retired, after the Battle of *Nage* to shun his pursuit ; I heard Brigadier *Julien* continued to burn the Villages and Borroughs in the *High Cevennes*, where there was e'er a Protestant. There was another Officer who committed greater disorders, his Name was *Planque*, born as I was told in *Montpellier*, of a good Family but a bigot Papist and consequently very cruel to the Protestants, and a great Imitator of his Master General *Montrevel*, for as the last had two bad Qualities, that of being cruel, and that of Boasting very much, his Imitator made them appear in the most glaring Colours, for he was never pleas'd but when he could Murder the Innocent, without sparing Women or Children, he put every Protestant to the Sword he met, tho' there was no Resistance. When he returned from any Expedition, one wou'd think (to hear him speak) that his presence

sence only was enough to terrify all the *Camisards*. He often said with a haughty and fiery Voice, that he had seen several Troops of the *Camisards*, but none durst wait for him ; as it was not our way to shun the meeting of our Enemies, especially when the Match was any thing equal ; it is as like, that this brave Champion used all his endeavours, not to meet with us, and like *Don Quixote*, took often the wandring Clouds, for Troops of *Camisards* who fled from him. His delight was only in burning and plundering every Place, where he met no resistance, an Example of which ensues, *viz.* He went into a large Borrough call'd *St. Stephen*, where there were more Protestants than Papists, some of the last inform'd him that several Inhabitants of that Place and of the Neighbourhood, had furnish'd us with Provisions, which was very false. 'Tis true that some Men of Captain *la Role's* Troop passing by that Place, and finding no Opposition, the Country Men being unarmed, they took all the Provisions they could get. On this report, that Monster of Cruelty sent for these pretended Criminals, and without further enquiry, caus'd 'em all to be shot, without sparing Women or Children, which were to the Number of Thirty, and I was told

told, that before the Women and Girls were put to Death, his Men ravish'd 'em, and made them go naked through the Streets. After this terrible Execution, he burn'd four Villages, committing a thousand Cruelties, without Respect to any Person; I endeavour'd often to meet him, but never cou'd by Reason of the short residence I made in that Country, for want of Provisions; and that he would not fight, but when he was much superior to 'me. However *Roland* would now and then give him some Exercise, which signify'd not much, for whenever he was inform'd by his Spies, that *Roland* was inferiour to him, he would go in quest of him, but *Roland* wou'd shun him; but when he was inform'd that *Roland* was pretty equal to him he never wou'd fight, pretending to have the Gout.

I T is to be wish'd, both for him and us, he had been as human, as politick, to evade the least Danger. As soon as I heard the barbarous Murther this Brigadier had committed, I quitted the Mountains, of *Anduze*, and went with five or six hundred Men towards *Lussan*, a Place well fortified by it's Situation, and *Uzes*, where there was a Garrison

Garrison of two hundred Men. I seem'd unwilling to attack them, and truly there was no Manner of Danger of them, whereas they were well intrench'd; I stay'd two Days about that Place, and kept it block'd up. The Commander thereof sent an Express to the Governor of *Uzez*, to inform him of the design I had to Besiege and take *Luzan*, and to send some Forces strong enough to defend it; whereupon the Governor immediately sent the Regiment of Royal *Cantois*, with a Detachment out of Six other Regiments.

AS soon as I got Notice of their March, I posted a Guard on a Bridge over which they were to pass. The Commander attacked it vigorously with his Grenadiers, with a design to take possession of the Bridge, and afterwards to attack me; which they would easily have done, had I not been at Hand to support my Detachment, it being very weak. Wherefore I march'd towards them in order to take possession of the Bridge before the Body of their Troops were arrived. I had above three score Troopers, who were very useful to me, for the River being every where Foordable, I ordered them to surround and
attack

attack the Enemy behind, which succeeded perfectly well, and was after this Manner: Whilst the Commander was coming towards me to take the Bridge, and I making a Resistance, my Detachment attack'd him so briskly in the Rear, that they put him in Disorder, at which Time, I advanced and routed them. The Captain of the Grenadiers was kill'd on the Spot, with more than half of his Detachment; and the rest made their Escape. The whole Regiment would have been entirely defeated, had not these that were running away luckily perceived a Hill surrounded with Walls, which serv'd them as Intrenchments and Citadells. We cou'd not attack them but by a narrow passage, therefore it would have been difficult to force 'em from thence.

Royal
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A L L this while, the Garrison of *Lussan* durst not come out to the Succour of those came to their Help, and seeing them beaten, they thought it wou'd not be long before I should attack them, and what prevented my so doing, was, that I wanted Powder. The Fight held more than an Hour, in which, I lost 12 Horse Men and some Foot; and the reason, why the Enemy was not entirely defeated was, as I said before, by reason they

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took

took Possession of that advantageous Post, by the Imprudence of an Officer whom I had posted there with a Detachment, foreseeing the Enemy would not fail to take Possession of it if they could, as they did accordingly; for the Officer seeing them routed, thought he could come (against my Orders) to help me to Pursue them, and by his indiscreet Zeal, hinder'd me from obtaining a Compleat Victory; and was like, for his Disobedience, to loose his Head: However, their loss was so great, that they had good reason to remember it for a long Time. I stay'd two Days, not far from that Place, waiting for Powder, in order to be in a condition to undertake some considerable Exploit.

AS soon as I was well provided with Ammunition, I heard there was about *Nimes* and *Uzez*, a new Party of wicked Men, (all Papists) who had orders to take away all the Cattle and Goods from the Protestants, even to kill them every one without any Mercy. They had taken the Name of *Cadets* of the *White Cross*, which several call'd them, others call'd them, the *White Camifards*, and others Named them *Vagabonds*; this last Name became them best, for they were Robbers, which

which committed the most enormous Cruelties, one can Think off, unmercifully. Murthering all the Protestants they met with, sparing neither Women, or the Children at their Mother's Breasts, and what's worse, no Person of Authority opposed their barbarous Insults and Abuses. Hearing of these Cruelties, I went to vindicate the innocent Blood.

I no sooner arrived at *Garrigus*, than a Party of these Rogues, to the Number of four Hundred fell into my Hands, I thought at first I was to deal with brave Men, who wou'd make use of the good Arms they had, but the Event convinced me, that Bravery is not in mean Souls; for I had scarce attack'd them, when they all run away; however, I overtook more than the half of them, to whom I return'd what they had done to our poor Bretheren; and the rest wou'd have met with the same Fate, had not my Troop been much fatigued.

A F T E R this Expedition, I went towards *Lussan*, and arrived at *Bruesel*, where I heard there were some other Rogues committing the like Disorders in that Neighbourhood; some Days after I fell on them. They

had made a great Booty, and were more than three thousand in several Bodies, and all of that Part of the Country.

M Y Troop consisted only of the Number of threescore Horses, and eight hundred Foot, but it was enough and more than I wanted for such People; and they themselves were so well perswaded of it, that as soon as they perceiv'd us, they abandon'd their Booty, and made their Escape, to save their Lives; but my light Horse overtook 'em, and cut them after such a Manner, that it was surprizing to see so many fall by their Hangers; and I believe truly that the *Lussards*, never made better use of their Arms, than we did that Day: Thus we punish'd those Monsters of Cruelty, with as much Pleasure as Justice. Those who evaded our Blows, were obliged to cross the River *Ardech*, which was so rapid, and the fear not permitting them to look for Fordable Places, that many were drown'd. After their Defeat, I came back where their Booty was, and order'd all the poor Protestants who had follow'd me, to take every Thing that belong'd to them, which they did with great Regularity and Order, and retired to their own Houses very well satisfied.

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This Action so much astonish'd the Inhabitants of these Quarters, that they did not afterward attempt to Plunder their Neighbours.

A F T E R this Expedition, I went to another Place, call'd St. *Florens*, near St. *Ambroix*; there was in that Valley a Troop of Men, as wicked as those I had chastized. I was very Angry with them by reason of their Cruelty, but could not reach them, for they were so cautious, that they took a peculiar Care, to shun me: However the Time of their Punishment being come, we came upon them, when they least expected us, by reason of my long absence. We arrived without the least Noise at their Place of Abode, call'd *la Salle*; where there was a strong Garrison of these wicked Men. The better to surprize them, I caused several of my Men to dress themselves in the King's Soldiers Cloaths, with white Cockaids in their Hats, to make them believe we were a Troop of Militia, and their Friends.

T H E Garrison being thus deceived came out to greet us, and suffered us to approach them, as near as we thought proper: When

When we were near enough, they ask'd, *Who's there?* whereunto we reply'd, *Frejus*, which was the Name of the Militia's Colonel of *Uzez*. When they heard a Name so well known to them, twenty of them came with my Men, and begun to boast very much of all their fine Actions; of the Booty they had got from the Protestants; and of all the Murders they had committed, the least of which, deserved Wheels and Fire. [There was among them, a lame Man out of the Village *Brenow*, who very likely was the most Cruel to Protestants; for at our first approach he gave us a thousand blessings for coming amongst them, and said after a very Affectionate Manner, *Gentlemen don't be concerned about any thing, I'll procure you extraordinary good Prizes, and shew you all the Hugonetts Houses, who help the Camisards, and you may behave your selves as you think fit.* One of my Men giving him liberty to proceed in his Discourse without interrupting him, he confess'd, he had caus'd several Students to be taken and hang'd. After which, Confession, my Soldier ask'd him with a loud Voice, *Have you said all?* Yes, answered the lame Man, with a low Voice, and changing his Colour, said, *Why do you ask me this?* For nothing at all, reply'd the Soldier

Soldier ; *but I think you have a fine Gun, pray shew it me ;* he gave it up immediately, with an Air which shew'd that he perceived what would happen to him, and said in his Country Language, *Ah ! poor lame Man, thou hast spoken too much.* Which was very true, for he and forty of his Associates were immediately shot : And if one of my Men had not spoken an imprudent Word, which discover'd what we were, I would have surprized the whole Garrison ; however, I let them know, if they did not desist from their Cruelties, I'd return and put them all to the Sword. Which menaces, with what I had just before done, put a stop for some Time to their Disorders.

A F T E R this I went to Succour the Protestants of *Blouzac*, a large Borrough about a League from *Uzes*. The Inabitants of which Place, were half Protestants and half Papists. The reformed had from very good Hands, that the Papists had form'd a desperate and bloody Design, to Murther them all in one Night, when in their Beds, which occasioned threescore of them to quit their Houses and join me, being unable to defend themselves, all being disarm'd. Several old Men Women and Children retired into the Neighbouring City,

City; but some stay'd there not believing they would perform their horrid Plot, -or at least would not do it as soon as it was expected; but these Rogues were but too punctual, and did not fail at the Time appointed to Murther most of those they met with, they did not spare even Infants at the Breast; they took some Prisoners, and plunder'd their Houses; all which cruelty having been executed before my Arrival, all I could do, was to fall on those Rogues, and caus'd thirty of them to be shot, then burn'd two Villages where these wicked Men lived; which for a while, put a stop to their Murthers.

SOME other Rogues committed the like Disorders against the Protestants towards *Nimes*, I sent *Catinat* with forty Troopers who attack'd them, kill'd several, and pursued the rest even to the Gates of *Beaucaire*. This made them afterwards more reserved. The *Mareschal* and Intendant *Baville*, were under no concern for these Disorders and Murthers, nor did they give themselves the Trouble, to suppress 'em; whereby the Reader may judge by their not Punishing them, that they encouraged and protected them, and wou'd have suffered another *St. Bartholomew*,

mew, but God permitted these Rogues to be soon dispersed.

FROM *Bloufac* I went towards *Vau-nage*, where I met with a Detachment out of *Firmarcon's* Regiment, in a Place call'd *Gavverness*, near *Aulbois*, along the *Virdoule*. There happened a very remarkable encounter, viz. The threescore Men who came to me from *Bloufac*, being yet unarmed, and seeing the Dragoons March towards them, went to meet them half way, with their own Arms, which were Slings and like other *Davids*, flung such a storm of Stones at 'em that they kill'd many, and wounded others, tho' they were altogether as numerous as we; when I came to their Succour, with a Body of my Troop, I fell on 'em so warmly, that they were obliged to retire, in very great Confusion, and lost two Officers and thirty Men, besides a great Number that were wounded, and several Horses which we took from them.

Encounter of *Gavverne*.

THE Disorders which the Papists committed were so great, that it obliged several Protestants who lived quietly in their own Houses, to come with us, for fear of being murdered; so that in a short Time, my

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Troop

Troop encreased to the Number of twelve hundred Men.

W H E N I found my Party pretty strong, I sent several Detachments towards the Place where the Protestants were most in Danger; after which, I went towards *Sommieres*. The Governor hearing I was then in his Neighbourhood, sent a Detachment out of his Garrison after me, with Orders to pursue closely, which they accordingly did; but I gave them such a warm reception, that they were obliged to retire with greater precipitation than they came.

A few Days after I went with fourscore Horse, to a Village call'd *Vergezes*, in order to rest there; but I heard Colonel *Firmarcon* was coming thither, with a strong Body of Troops. I would willingly avoid Fighting, the Match being very unequal; but it was too late; for his Forces soon attack'd me with great Fury, but having the Advantage of the Ground, we opposed him, which he no sooner perceived, but he formed some Squadrons to surround me. When I found his design, we fell upon them with such Vigour and Resolution, whilst they were in Motion, that

we

we routed them, and pursued 'em so closely, that we hindred them to rally, till they overtook their Foot; and would willingly have pursued 'em further; but finding they were six to one, we thought proper to make the best of our Way, and retire from that Village into a Field of *Olive Trees*, adjoining thereto, which hinder'd them to discover our Number. The Enemy believing I was going to join the rest of my Men, whom they thought to be very Numerous, pursued me no more; but stood for a while at the entry of the Village, and let me retire quietly. I lost there four Men, and twelve Horses.

FROM thence, I went up towards *Durfort*, where I met with *Roland*. We spent the next Day together, without any Action worthy observation, but resting our selves; and consulting each other about our Affairs. And in the midst of our Consultation, we perceived a Detachment conveying a Commissary General from *St Hipolyte* to *Anduze*. We were but a Gun-shot from their Road, but we did not oppose them, for we had something else in view, of greater Moment, so that we did not discover our being there. In the Evening, when this Detachment was coming
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A Detach-
ment from
St. Hippolyte
utterly
defeated.

back, they perceiv'd us, and the Commander divided his Troop in order to surround us, but was very much surpriz'd, when he saw himself surrounded, so that there was no hope for him to make his escape; in short, he and all his Men were kill'd, except one whose Life I spared, at the request of one of my Men who knew him; but his Hour being come, that unfortunate Man, could not evade his hard Destiny; for as soon as he arrived in his Garrison, and had given an Account of the Defeat, of this whole Detachment to the Governor: He was so much exasperated, that far from Rewarding the Fidelity of that Soldier, he immediately ordered him to be hang'd, saying, his Life was spared, by reason he had serv'd as a Spy to the *Camisards*, and that he return'd to them with no other Design, than to give us Intelligence of some Means, whereby to destroy his whole Garrison; nay his Incredulity was such, that he went Personally into the Field of Battle, to see if the Report that unfortunate Soldier had made was True, which he finding by the exact Number of his Men who were Slain, had just Reason to blame his Passion and Incredulity. Had he been as courageous, as furious, he would have made use of that Opportunity

portunity to revenge the Blood we had shed, but instead thereof, he no sooner heard we were Marching towards him, but he retired into his Garrison, for fear of meeting with the like Disaster.

A few Days after that, I was told that the Papists towards *St. Florens*, had again begun to Plunder and Murther the Protestants of their Neighbourhood; and that these last were very much in want of my Succour, wherefore I sent for several Detachments, which I had towards *Vaunage*, and also, from the *High Cevennes*, a Body of Troops commanded by *Solomon*; so that I gathered twelve hundred Men together.

THE Mareschal *Montrevel* was then at *Allez*, with eleven Regiments, but he did not think himself strong enough, but when he had ten or twelve thousand Men with him, which was easy for him to get, in regard that besides the Militia of the Country, there were in that Province, more than twenty thousand Men, of regular Forces at his Command.

I N order to attack the Papists of St. *Florens* at their weakest Place, and most advantageous to us, I design'd to pass privately by a Castle call'd the Tower of *Billiot*, Situate in a Plain a League from *Allez*, but the Mareschal got Notice thereof, by a Miller to whom I imported the Secret; but the Traytor did not long enjoy the reward of his Perfidiousness; for soon after I had him taken, and ordered him to be Shot. As soon as I arrived in that Place which was in the Dusk of the Evening, I posted some advanc'd Guards, in order to let my Men rest for a few Hours, who were very much tired; and intended towards Midnight to March forward, but the Mareschal having had Intelligence, made disposition to surprize and Defeat us; and flattered himself with the hopes of an entire Victory; having taken all the Precautions imaginable not to miss the opportunity; and for that purpose eight Regiments of Foot, and two of Dragoons, were drawn up, and he also ordered all the Gates of the City to be shut, for fear any Person shou'd come out and give me Intelligence of his Design. About ten of the Clock at Night, he came out very Privately from *Allez*, without Noise of Drum or Trumpet, and arrived at
Billiot

Billiot about Eleven. One of my advanc'd Guards hearing the Noise of the Enemy coming towards him, shot at the first he perceiv'd, this Noise allarm'd us, and I perceiv'd then, but too late I was surpriz'd, and had been betray'd; however, I was obliged to make the best Defence I could; I awaked my Men, and sent a Detachment to support the advanc'd Guard who had fired. Whilst they were Marching I gathered about four hundred Men together, out of the Castle Gate, but by reason our advanc'd Guards were not far off, nor strong enough, and had been put to flight by two Regiments, who came all at once, to the Castle Gate; the half of my Men could not get time to come out of the Castle. These two Regiments were *Rouyergues* and *Haynaux*, supported by those of *la Fare*, *Marcilly* and the *Marines*, *Tournon*, *Tourneau*, *Royal Cantois*, *Corde*, *Irish Foot*, *Firmarcon*, *Little Languedoc Dragoons*, a Detachment of *St. Cernains* who were also Dragoons, *Swissers* Regiment, with a strong Body of *Marines*, and more than a hundred *Irish Officers*. When all these Troops came to the Castle Gate, there commenc'd a most dreadful and terrible Battle, it seem'd as if Heaven and Earth had been on Fire, and the Darkness of the Night added more
Terrour;

Terrour; my Men who were in the Castle, fought so desperately against the Enemy that every one expected it would be his last Night; however the Grenadiers who were posted near the Gate, were obliged to retire and part of my Troop took that Opportunity to come out from the Castle, and came to me, where I was posted behind a *Rivulet* except Forty, who were in two Towers within the said Castles, who had not heard of my orders to come out; while they were fighting thus, I made a Detachment which I sent amongst the Enemy, who cry'd, *Who comes there?* My Men answered *Mont-revel the Padrole*, and immediately fired at them, which put the Enemy into so great Disorder, that it occasion'd a Battle amongst themselves. I afterwards went again to oppose the Enemy who were endeavouring to surround the Castle, as soon as they perceiv'd us, they thought we were some of their Friends, and let us draw near till we charg'd them and made them retire in confusion towards one of their own Party, but the others taking them for us, fell on them and fought and kill'd one another for a considerable Time; tho' it was Moon Light yet they could not know one another. I would willingly

willingly have made use of that Opportunity, to get the rest of my Men out of the Castle, but could not; for the Enemy having rally'd together, and taken possession of the Castle Gate, they obliged us to retire twice; however, the forty Men who were within, continued such dreadful firing at the Enemy, that they were obliged to send to *Allez* for some Canons, in order to beat down the Castle and the Tower; but before they could receive that relief, their Grenadiers flung so many Grenadoes into it, that they set it on fire; so that my poor tho' brave and resolute Soldiers perish'd in the Flames. This fight was very Bloody on both Sides, and lasted from eleven a Clock at Night, till four in the Morning; but these in the Castle, defended themselves till eight, at which time they were surrounded by the Flames. I lost in that unhappy Night, about two hundred Men, and the Enemy had about twelve hundred kill'd and wounded.

W E fearing that we should be surrounded and routed entirely, thought proper to retreat before Day Light, and we defended our selves so vigorously, that the Enemy durst not pursue us. So we went towards St.

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Benexet,

Benezet, a Town in the Midst of a Wood, where we rested our selves for a few Days after our great Fatigues. I heard there, that after the Battle was over, and Day Light appear'd, the Enemy came to view the Corps that were left in the Field, and meeting with one who resembled me, they cut off his Head, and carried it to the Marechal *Montrevel*, who look'd on it with abundance of Pleasure, which verified the old saying, *That we are most apt to give Credit to what we most wish for.* The Marechal was so barbarous as to send my pretended Head, to my Father and Mother, who were then in Prison at *Allez*, and they were deceived by the resemblance of that Head to mine, but they did not continue long in that Error; for that very Evening I found an Opportunity to let my Parents know I was still alive; and they afterwards found out, that the Person whom they thought to be me, was a Soldier out of *Solomon's* Troop who really resembled me very much. Without doubt the Person who cut off the said Head, expected a great reward: For the Reader may remember, that the Intendant *Baville*, had promised in the Beginning of our Insurrection, a reward of two hundred Pistoles, to any Person that wou'd carry him
my

my Head; but finding himself frustrated for a long Time in his expectation, he advanced the reward to one thousand Pistoles, in order to encourage so bold and barbarous an attempt. Would not the Reader believe that this Intendant thought to find the Philosopher's Stone in my Head? when he set so great a Price thereon, however he had not the Satisfaction to purchase it, and I soon gave the Enemy reason to know I was not dead. 'Tis true I did not think proper to go and chastise the Rogues at St. *Horens*, by reason I heard my Design was discovered; and the Marechal had sent some Troops towards that Place, able to defend them, and do me abundance of Prejudice; but I sought means to revenge the loss I had suffered at the Tower of *Billiot*; and with that intent I went as far as the Gates of *Alex*, *Anduze* and *Nimes*, to insult the Garrisons, and provoke them to come out and fight me, but finding they wou'd not, and that we might not be Idle, we marched towards the Forces they had in other Garrisons, up and down the Country. For the Reader must know, that as the Marechal (whose foresight was very extensive) had caus'd more than twenty Towns and Villages to be fortified in the Plane, and had

left Garrisons every where for fear the *Camisards* should make incursions through *Languedoc*, and raise all the Protestants of that Province, who waited for a favourable Moment to shake off the Yoke of Bondage. And truly his Prudence was very Commendable: But it was then Necessary to find out some Means to cross his Design, and destroy his Bulworks, and prevent his Fortifications. I then began by *Boucairn*, but the Garrison perceiving me, retired into the Castle built on a Rock, I took the place and demolish'd all their Intrenchments.

FROM thence I went to *St. Gignies*, where I surprized and took most of the Garrison, which consisted of about five hundred Men, and the rest retired into the Church and Church-Yard, which I could not burn or destroy, and from whence I could not force them; while we were retiring, they shot at us, out of a House, and kill'd one of my Men, this provoked us so, that we set the House on fire, wherein we heard there was a Priest, with several other Persons; and that it was he who had caused them to shoot at us; so that if he was burnt in good Company, his Indiscretion was the chief cause of it.

FROM

FROM St. *Gignies* I went to *Lexan* near *Anduze*, and pull'd down their new Intrenchments, obliged the Garrison to retire into the Church, and the Inhabitants to demolish their Fortifications.

A few Days after I went towards *Mouzac*, to surprize the Garrison, but was discover'd, and cou'd take but a few Soldiers.

FROM thence I went to *Ledignan*, which Garrison being unable to defend themselves, and unwilling to fight, retired into the Church.

I went afterwards to a Borrough call'd *Vezénobre*, which was pretty well fortified, and pull'd down all the Intrenchments. Tho' all these advantages were but small, they made a very great Noise thro' the Country, and so alarmed the Mareschal, that it occasioned him to recall all the Forces he had in several Borroughs and Villages, and to send them into strong Cities, to shelter them from our Insults.

WHEN the Mareschal found he cou'd not destroy us by force, he endeavour'd to do
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it by starving us, and to that purpose order'd the Inhabitants of the Country, to fetch all their Corn, Provisions, and other Goods within the wall'd City, and to burn the Forrage, and that under pain of Death. Which orders drove us to very great Necessity, for thereby we were debarr'd from getting Provisions as before; but to prevent the consequences which were like to ensue, I did two Things, the first was to take away all the Corn, and Wine I could find in the Farmers Store-houses, and carry them into my Magazines I had in Caves in the Mountains. We liv'd upon these Provisions about the space of one Year, and they wou'd have lasted much longer, had there been none but my Men to maintain, but I was obliged to provide for their Wives and Children, from whom the Enemy had taken away their substance. The second Thing I did, was to acquaint all the Country-men, that in case they should obey *Mareschal de Montrevel's* orders in carrying the Provisions into the wall'd Cities, they might expect to have their Horses, Mules and Asses Legs cut off; and those who would conduct them to be shot or hang'd; and to let them see that what I said to them should be strictly put in Execution, the first I discovered disobeying my

my Orders, and who perform'd more punctually those of the Mareschal, lost their Lives as an example to the others. The poor People were certainly to be much pitied, for they knew not whom to obey, and saw themselves reduced to that cruel state of being punished, if they shou'd obey the Mareschal's Orders or mine. I am perswaded, that those who executed the Mareschal's Orders, did it contrary to their Wills, knowing what would happen them, that is to say, that they should be no longer Masters of what belong'd to them, when they were obliged to abandon their Houses and Goods to retire into the Cities. The Officers then took a List of all Men and the Quantity of their Provisions, and afterwards distributed it to each Family; and if it happened that some desired a Pound of Bread more than ordinarily was allowed, they were obliged to give very good reasons for it, before they could obtain it. For my part, I did all I could to hinder my Men from starving, and I made the Enemy as uneasy as they did me, for I destroy'd all the Mills that were round about their Cities and Boroughs, and prevented their getting any Provisions, especially Salt, Wood and Forrage, which occasion'd a great scarcity amongst them.

them, so that they were more than six Months before they could get any Salt, at *Allez*. Their Lands were untilled, the Citizens not daring to come out from the Cities, which made the People to grumble and force the Enemy to reduce many Garrisons, to reinforce others who stood in need of their Assistance.

A T this Time Lieutenant General *la Lande* arrived in the Province to serve under Mareschal *Montrevel* against us. He made a great Noise at his arrival, and frightened every one: But this did not continue long, for he was Civil and Humane, took no pleasure in spilling the innocent Blood, acquitted his Duty without extending his Power too far, and only punished those he found armed, it was to be wish'd he had commanded in chief, for there would not have been so much Blood shed. This General having informed the Mareschal I was in the Woods, between *Allez* and *Uzez*; they gathered all their Troops to come and attack me, but having notice of their design, and finding I had but four hundred Men with me, and had to deal with more than six thousand, a very unequal match; I thought proper to withdraw to evade encountering them. If the River *Gardon* had

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not been so overflow'd as it was, I would have cross'd it, and retired to a Mountain; but it was no where Fordable. There were several Woods and Forrests near me, where I could have retired, but knew I could not be accomodated with Provisions there for my Men: However, I was obliged to retire thereto, and trust to Providence, and was glad for a Time to evade meeting of a *Goliath*, who though just arrived was very desirous to Fight and signalize himself by my Defeat; but after several Marches and Counter-marches, they were necessitated for Provisions as well as we, which obliged them to seperate themselves, and retire some to *Ufex*, and *Anduze*. As for my Part, I went with my Men thro' secret and private Ways to our Magazines, where I was supplied with what I wanted.

W H I L E we were in the midst of these Woods, I received the terrible News of the Pope's having declared himself our mortal Enemy; and that he had join'd his Spiritual Arms to the Temporal of *Lewis* the Great. His Holiness darted his Thunder out of Vatican, and declared a Holy War against us. The Copy of which Declaration ensues, *viz.*

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Clement XI. The Servant of the Servants of our Lord, and to our beloved Son in Christ, *Ambrosius* Bishop of *Allez*, Greeting, and our divine Blessing.

NONE can express the extreme displeasure we conceive, in hearing by the most honourable Ambassadour of France, that the Hereticks in the Cevennes, the cursed race of anti-ent Albigeois, had lately taken up Arms against the Church and King. Wherefore in order to put a stop to the Contagion of so furious a Plague, which we thought to have been already destroyed by Lewis the Great's Piety; We think fit to follow the laudable example of our Predecessours in the like Cases. In order thereto, and to ingage and encourage God's Elect to exterminat that cursed Race of wicked Men, who in all Ages have been an abhorrence both of God and Cæsar, and trusting ourselves to the Power of binding and unbinding, which our Saviour granted to the Chief of the Apostles. We grant and freely give Plenary Forgiveness of all Sins whatsoever, to all those who will List themselves in this Holy Militia, if it should so happen that they be kill'd in the fight. And to that purpose we order this Bull, seal'd with the Seal of Sinners to be posted up at all the Church Gates

Wars of the CEVENNES. 219

Gates of your Diocess, to the End that those furious Men may spread no further.

Given at Rome the first of May, in the Year of our Saviour, 1703. And the fourth of our Popedom.

As soon as the Bishop of *Allez* had received that most cursed Bull of the pretended Vicar of God, of an Infinite Mercy, immediately published it, and to second his Master's Zeal, he accompanied his Bull with the following Mandamus.

Ambrosius by Divine Permission, Bishop of *Allez*, to all and each of the Vicars of our Diocess who shall see these present Letters, Greeting.

W H E R E A S the Inhabitants of the *Cevennes* making a plausible Pretence, by their most ungodly Rebellion, to promote the Purity of God's Service, which was (according to *St. Augustin's* observations) the constant Practice of Hereticks, and being possessed with a devilish Spirit, as we have all reason to believe, have revolted against his sacred Majesty *Lewis the Great*, have reduced Churches, Chappells and Convents,

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into Ashes; destroy'd with Sword and fire the Farms and Revenues of our Clergy; and have not only (what we can't repeat without Trembling) used after a most injurious and cruel Manner the venerable Priests of our Church, but have Murther'd them even at the Feet, of the Altars.

WE Ambrosius by divine Permission, Bishop of Allez, willing to obey (as far as in our Power, the Orders of our most holy Pontiff, and of our most Pious King Lewis the XIV. We Order and Command you strictly by these presents, to apply your selves to preserve the Flock, which we have trusted to your Cares, from this Contagion which is so pernicious both to Body and Soul. Moreover we exhort you all, by the Intrails of our blessed Saviour, to Preach frequently to the People, and exhort in your Sermons, all faithful Christians, not to give any Succour or the least Help to these Rebels, even not to supply them with Victuals and Provisions; but rather endeavour to extirpate them by Fire and Sword: They who perform this lawful Duty, as it is incumbent on the Soldiers both of Church and King, they shall receive a plenary Indulgence for all their Sins, as it appears more fully in the Bull, with all the plentiful fruits of this Indulgence: Wherefore we make no doubt but you will apply your selves with Joy and one Accord

Accord towards the success of this Affair. And, as Lewis the Great has resolved, according to the wholesome Advice of the holy Pontiff and Bishops of his Kingdom, not to leave one Heretick alive in all his Dominions ; by this Means the great God's Majesty, the honour of the Catholick Church, and and the Prince's Royal Dignity shall be kept inviolable, in all Ages.

Given at Allez the 26th of May, 1703.

I T was after this Manner they unmercifully Thundered against us. The Pope from the *Vatican*, and the Bishop of *Allez* from the Top of the Castle near the City : But good Luck for us, we did not hear the Noise of their Thunders, nor feel the Strokes of their Thunder-Bolts. We were more afraid of a Musket Ball from the King's Soldiers, than of all these brutish and devilish Thunders. They did not dare to post up the *Papal Bull*, at the Gates of the Churches, in the Places we frequented, for we never saw one of them. However, we soon perceived that God had more regard to our Prayers, than the Anathema of our Enemies ; for about that Time, the Commandant of *Uzes*, having got Notice that I was not above an Hour's Journey from that City ; and that I had but three hundred

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and fifty Men, he gathered all the Garrison, and chose the best of all the Sea or Marine Soldiers, that were there, with some other Troops, which in all amounted to above seven hundred Men: He gave them to Colonel *la Jonquieres*, with orders to attack my Forces every where they could meet us. This Colonel taking his leave of the Commandant, told him he wou'd soon give him a good account of me. In order to be as good as his Word, (for he was a brave Officer) he went directly to the Place they inform'd him I was in; but we had left it a little before: However, he hearing of the Road we had taken, follow'd us, and as it had rain'd a great deal that Day, he pursued us by our Tracks, and he arrived in the Evening near *Moujac* on the River *Gordon*, where I was to refresh my self. As soon as I got Notice thereof, I left that Place and my Lodging to them, and went to Lodge half an Hour's Journey from thence, to a Village call'd *Lascours de Crivier*, situate on a Hill by the same River, where I lay that Night, and went away from thence next Day very early. Colonel *la Jonquieres* came, there to halt, and not being satisfied with that, caus'd the Village to be plunder'd and kill'd several Persons of both Sexes, and of all

all Ages. I had Notice of all these Disorders, and of his saying he would follow me to the last Day. And I was well inform'd of the great Number of Troops he had, which when I compared to mine, I found that two Swords were longer than one, and wou'd have been willing to vindicate them poor unfortunate Inhabitants, but my Forces could not answer my Wishes; however, was much concerned to hear the Complaints of a Father and Mother, a Brother and Sister, whose Parents they had kill'd, and taken away all they had in their Houses: Notwithstanding I proceeded on my Road, full of Grief, and made a Stand on a little Hill, half a League from *Lascours*. There came to me several other People with new Complaints, which griev'd me so much, that at last I told my Men, I was resolv'd to go no further, and that we were obliged to fight, to put a Stop (with the Help of God) to so many Disorders and Cruelties. I ordered my Men to Prayers, and exhorted them to follow me and fight courageously for the Defence of our Liberty and Religion, which every one readily agreed to. When I perceiv'd the Enemy a-far off, and our Resolution being taken, I chose advantageous Ground where there was a Brook,

Brook, behind which I posted my self. I had then thirty Troopers, which I put on my Left in a Place cover'd with Shrubs, erect about twenty Paces from the Body I commanded my self; and on my Right I posted three Score Men, with Orders to lye flat on the Ground 'till the Enemy had made their Discharge, and my Troopers had fired from the Place I had posted them, and after that to rise and fire at the Enemy; all which was so well ordered and performed, that the Enemies were surprized and overturned; and after a general Volley from the Enemy, which wounded but few of my Men; I came up with them, and pass'd on the other Side of the Brook; mean time my Ambuscadoes and Troopers fired at them, through the Hedges which cover'd them, and those who lay down on the Ground got up and did the like, setting upon them every where on the Flank; I took that Opportunity to fall with my Troop on those that were before me, and it was then we saw the Enemy dropping down very thick, and the rest being frighten'd, soon wheel'd about and ran away. We pursued them very close, putting every one to the Sword we met with. Scarce one Hundred and fifty escap'd; more than Twenty four Officers were kill'd

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on the Spot, the most of their Dragoons were dismounted, the rest threw themselves into the *Gardon*, to endeavour to make their escape by Swimming. Colonel *la Jonquieres* left his Horse, for as he could not leap over a Wall, and finding himself closely pursued, was obliged to quit it to climb over to save his Life. It was a very good Horse, I brought him into *Piemont*, and rode him for three Years, and what is very surprizing, I had not one Man kill'd in that Action, and but twelve wounded, two of whom died of their Wounds.

LIEUTENANT General *de Lande* having heard this fatal News, came to their Succours with fifteen hundred Men, even to the Field of Battle, where without doubt he was very much surpriz'd to see such great Numbers of Dead in so little a Spot of Ground. Truly as soon as I had defeated them, I took away all their Arms and Amunition, I loaded several Mules with their Spoils, and got a considerable Sum of Gold and Silver.

AFTERWARDS, I retired into *Divezet's* Wood. It has been always a custom among the Soldiers in *France* to extort Money from the Country, and especi-

ally the Persecution, giving them free toleration in the *Cevennes*; there is no doubt but they made use of that Opportunity, to gather as much as they could. These Pyrates had plunder'd, kill'd, and made the Country pay all they could get from them. So they came very rich to me. But God who abhors such extortions, made them lose their Booty with their Lives.

WE made very good use of it, for as there was an Order amongst us that all the Money we could get from the Enemy should be laid into my Hands to be divided accordingly to each Person's Merit, so it was exactly perform'd; some amongst us had quitted their Wives and Children, others wanted Cloaths, and Shoes; and like a good Father, I divided the whole, after such an equal Manner, that every one was satisfied.

MARQUIS *la Lande* finding he cou'd not revenge Colonel *la Jonquieres's* Cause, went much concern'd to *Alex*, and from thence to *Anduze*, where he heard, *Roland* was but a League from thence, in a Place call'd the Bridge of *Salindres*, between *Anduze*, and St. *John of Gardonnenques*. This News again
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animated his Courage and Hope. He order'd a Detachment of Foot to hasten to him. Wherefore *Roland* having got Notice, laid an Ambuscade, in a very narrow Defile, where twenty Men could stop two hundred. There was on one Side of it a Mountain where he posted some Men, and on the other, a dreadful Precipice, whose bottom reached the River *Gardon*; he let them come into the Defile, but when he perceived they were advanced far enough, he attacked them at once before and behind, and from the Top of the Mountain, the Detachment which he had posted there, rowled down large Stones, which kill'd a great many. This General finding himself in a Snare, did not know how to come out of it, but happily discover'd a Mill on the River Side, which was Fordable and where *Roland* had neglected to post some Men, which if he had done, neither their General nor any of his Men would have escaped. However his loss was very considerable, for he left behind him several Men, both Horse and Foot. he was so closely pursued, that having drop'd his Hat, he had not Time to take it up, which having expos'd him to the Mirth of his fellow Officers, made him more wary how he attacked us in the High Lands, but

was very willing to be at me, who commonly kept the Plain. But I knowing he had the Advantage of far greater Numbers, and on that account made use of such Means as disappointed all his Schemes and Designs.

W H I L E *Roland* acted against the Marquis *la Lande*, I was not idle; being inform'd that a considerable Sum of Money for the Garrison, was carrying down to *Alex* and *Anduze*, under the Convoy of a Body of Miquelets, I went and posted my self on the Road of St. *Hipolyte* to *Anduze*, where they were to pass, but it was our Misfortune that they had Notice thereof, and went another Way; I pursued them as fast as I could, but could not prevent their retreat, into the Castle of *Vibrac*, with their Treasure, though we kill'd a great many of them. That Prey would have been a very great help to me in the Necessity I was then in. These Miquelets had been for a considerable Time in the Country; for the Enemy found themselves obliged to send some Succours into *Germany*, and had taken as many Troops out of the *Cevennes* as they could, and sent in their stead, forty Companies of Miquelets out of *Spain*. 'Tis well known that these Men are only good

good to send out to make Discoveries, climb the Mountains, plunder and kill every one, and consequently unfit to fight, wherefore they wou'd never attack me, tho' they were well armed.

I was then in suspence whether I should make a general insurrection or not, but I wanted Arms, Ammunition and Money, which are the chief Nerves of the War, and the Succours which had been so often promised to us did not come. Moreover I was afraid to expose a whole Nation, tho' such an Insurrection would have been advantagious, both to them and to me, for obtaining a better Peace. However being willing to make an attempt, I detached *Catinat* and *Daires*, with four more, and sent them into *Rouvergues*, in order to find out the disposition of our Friends. They got a small Party who took up Arms and having very imprudently mismanaged, were routed in five Days; and five of them taken and immediately put to Death: However, *Catinet* had the good fortune to make his escape. This Motion allarm'd *Mareschal Montrevel*, who sent some Troops to prevent the Consequences. It was at this Time the barbarous Murther of *Madam Miramand* happen'd, she
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was a Roman Catholick Lady of Quality, born at *Alez*, youthful, beautiful, and universally beloved, for her good qualities; but especially for her great Charity towards the Poor, and Prisoners. She was going one Day in her Litter, with her Waiting-Maid, from *Lusan*, to St. *Ambroise*, accompanied by a Foot-Man, and an Old Man, who was also a Roman Catholick, and who had help'd several Protestants to make their Escape out of the Kingdom in the Time of Persecution. She was attack'd a League from *Lusan*, by four Rogues, who took her from her Litter, and her Waiting-Woman and Murther'd them together with the rest of her Retinue, and took all the Booty they could. So barbarous a Murther made a very great Noise thro' the Country, and our Enemies did not fail to impute it to us, by publishing that the *Camisards* were the Authors thereof. But happily some Inhabitants of *Fons*, a Town near where the Murther was committed, detesting so inhuman a Crime, and fearing to have their Houses burn'd came to me with information, that four Men towards *Lusan* had committed that Murther, and were retir'd into *Bouquest's* Wood, and withal said, if I wou'd send a Detachment, they wou'd direct 'em to find out the

the Rogues. Immediately I sent Twenty Troopers in pursuit of them. And as the Villains pretended to be our Friends and would come now and then to see us, they mistrusted nothing in seeing my Men, but on the contrary came to meet them, and boasted very much of their barbarous Murther, the Officer who commanded the Detachment gave them leave to say what they wou'd, after which he ordered them to be tied with Ropes, and brought to St. *Maurice*, where I was. Two of the Country-Men who had guided my Detachment, inform'd me of all the Particulars of that inhuman Action. And the Murtherers being examined confess'd the Fact. If I had but one of them Hangmen, who were in great Numbers with Intendant *Barville*, I would have made them suffer a more cruel Death than that of being shot; however three of them were shot, and the fourth was saved, by reason his Comrades confess'd he was not guilty of the Murther but on the contrary had done all he cou'd to prevent their committing of it.

A F T E R the execution, I sent an Express to Marechal *Montrevel*, to give him Notice that these Men were not of my Troop
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and that I had put them to Death, and if he was willing to have their Bodies exposed on a Wheel he might with safety send for them. He very much approved (as I was told) of what I had done; moreover 'tis very well known, that there was extraordinary good Discipline amongst us, especially an Article not only forbidding Murther and Robbery, but even any thing that could come near these Crimes. And in short, our Discipline was perform'd with the strictest Rigour against those who would Infringe it. An Example whereof follows. One of my Soldiers being going to a Party, and having met with a Merchant who was going from *Alex* to *Ufez*, and seeing his Cloaths to be better than his own, obliged him to change: Whereof, I was no sooner inform'd, than he was condemn'd to loose his Life, tho' the Merchant did not complain, but seem'd to be well pleased with the Exchange. However, at the Merchant's request I pardon'd him, after he had run the Gantlet, by reason he would not go away until he had got his Pardon. My Enemies as well as my Friends, did me always the Justice to say, that never was Discipline better observ'd than mine; and truly it was what

what always maintained us and procured us good Friends.

A F T E R these Murtherers I spoke of, were put to Death. I heard by my Spies, that Mareschal *Montrevel* was going from *Nimes* to *Alex*, with a Convoy of four thousand six hundred Men, and was to cross the *Gardon* at *Ners*, which had then overflow'd it's Banks, and that there was but one Boat which would carry over his Men, and consequently his Foot cou'd not cross it without much Difficulty and Time, wherefore I resolved to make his passage more difficult by posting my self with eight hundred Men in a very advantagious Defile, near *Ners*, which Village is Scituate on a Hill watered by the River *Gardon*. When any Person goes there from *Boucarian*, they may see it from a good Distance especially the Castle, and at half a League from that Village, is a large bare and barren Plain, being often overflow'd by that River but coming near it's Bank, one discovers towards *Ners*, Willow Trees and Hedges along the Shore, of a vast length, which make a kind of a natural Intrenchment, and renders its Passage very Difficult. There is but one Foord which meets a Road that

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leads winding about even to the Castle, and whose Ascent is very steep and difficult, narrow and bordered on each Side, with thick Hedges. It was there I lay in Ambush, and posted two strong Detachments in the two Angles of that Road with several small Bodies of Soldiers, which I placed here and there on the Hill, that they might more commodiously Fire on those who should escape our first Volley. Having thus waited for some Hours, we saw in the Evening, the Van Guard of the Marechal's Army coming toward us. We let them come to the other Side of the River, when I commanded a hundred of my Men to fire upon them, several fell in the Water, which drove them away, and the rest turn'd back. When the Enemy heard our Volley, they hasted towards us, and wou'd fain pass in greater Numbers; but I immediately got two hundred Men to fire at them, which likewise drop'd several of them in the River and obliged their whole Army to stop, tho' far from our reach. The Marechal having heard all this, and knowing the Advantage of that Post, being perswaded his whole Army would have perished there, had they attack'd us, retired with his Troops to *Boucairian*, with a design, without doubt to
attack

attack us the next Morning in another Place, but we did not think proper to wait for him, and therefore retired that very Night, into the Woods. The next Morning the Marechal did not fail to surround the whole Hill of *Ners*, having cross'd the *Gardon* by another Foord, but he might have spared himself that Trouble, for he found the Road free, and retired to *Allez* without meeting any opposition. However, the grief of having been stop'd on his Road before, oblig'd him to send a Garrison to *Ners*, for fear of the like disaster again; and having afterwards look'd on that Post, as very Advantagious, they constantly kept a Garrison in the Castle, and the Lord thereof could never obtain leave from Court that they might retire.

W H E N the Marechal was arriv'd at *Allez*, he required the best Wine the Province cou'd afford, and without doubt, he was not Satisfied with the Wine of that City, in regard that it was too Small, he sent for some towards *Langlade* and *Calvison*, whose Soil produced excellent Wine.

B E I N G one Day on *Ladignan's* Road, I perceiv'd six Mules laden with Wine, I spoke

spoke to the Mule Drivers, and ask'd 'em from whence they came, where they were going, and whose Wine that was they were conveying? They replied, it belong'd to the Mareschal *Montrevel*. I desired them to shew their Passports, but having none, I told them their Mules and Wine were a very good Prey, and immediately ordered some of my Soldiers to drive the Mules into the Woods of *Quisac*, and there lay up the Wine till we shou'd want it; after which I desired the Mule drivers to continue their Road towards *Allez*, and gave them a courteous Letter for the Mareschal, wherein I inform'd him, I wou'd drink his and his Mistress's Health, and being resolv'd to return some former Rallery, (to give him Joke for Joke) I subscribed my self Prince of *Cevennes*, by reason he had given me that Title, out of Contempt.

THIS General received a supply of new Troops daily, and as soon as they had all arrived, he endeavour'd to attack and destroy us, but all his Stratagems prov'd ineffectual; for I knew the Means to avoid encountering him: During his greatest Motions, I met a Detachment of six or seven hundred Men commanded by the Governor of *St. Hipolyte*, who

was

was going to *Anduze*. This Officer was very furious whilst in his Citadel, and boasted that with four hundred Men he wou'd beat and turn all the *Camisards* out of the Kingdom, and laugh'd at the Officers who were beaten, but there is great difference between Words and Deeds, for having met him on his March, as brave a Man as he thought himself to be, I made him forbear his threatening Language, by defeating the greatest Part of his Detachment, and obliging him to go and shut himself up with the remains of his Detachment in the Castle of *Tournae*, not far from thence. But whereas I cou'd not force him thence for want of Cannon, I retired well satisfied with having beaten him with equal Forces. I saw him on the Top of a Tower looking after me with a Perspective Glass, and without doubt was very sorry to see me retiring, for he expected the Mareschal *Montrevel* and Lieutenant General *la Lande* to come and relieve him. I was since inform'd that a Captain out of the Regiment of *Hayaumont* who was then in his Detachment, ask'd him how he liked that *Cavallier*, whom he often said he wou'd whip with a Rod any where he could meet him? to whom he answered

swered in Confusion, *That an Apprentice may come to be Master.*

T H E Mareschal who was but two Hours journey from thence with a Body of six thousand Men, and the Marquis *la Lande* with another Party of two thousand, came to succour him, but too late, for I had just got to the Top of the Mountain at whose Foot we fought, after having taken all the Arms, Amunition and other Booty, we cou'd get in the Field of Battle; the Mareschal having for a considerable Time viewed us from the bottom of the Mountain, being unwilling, or rather incapable of coming to us; retired to *Allez*, near his dear Amours; where there was less Danger and more Pleasure. The Vintage Time being come, several of my Men went privately to their own Houses, as they had done during the Harvest, with a resolution to come back to me as soon as they had settled their Domestick Affairs. As for my Part, I only rambled from Place to Place, keeping myself in a defensive Posture; till my Men returned, which was in a Fortnight's Time, I went towards the Mountain of *Lauze*, as far as a Village call'd *Castagnol*, in order to consult with *Solomon*, on the design
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we had before formed, to go and disarm all the Papist of that Neighbourhood, and to go as far as *Vivarez*. Having met together we used all our endeavours to oblige the Enemy to come out from the Pount of *Montvert* to fight us, but they would not do it, though they were superiour to us in Number. The Country we were in being barren and a desert, we could not stay above three or four Days, for want of Provisions, and being without Hopes of getting any advantage over our Enemies, and bad Weather coming on, we retired into our Gallery, towards *Anduze* and *Alex*.

TOWARDS the End of *November*, I got an Express from *Roland, la Rose, Constanet*, and *Solomon*, sent to me to let us know, the design they had form'd to surprize the Garrison of *Genovillac*, and to desire me to go and sustain them. Their Rendezvous was in a Village near that Borrough, from whence they went and attack'd the Garrison, which consisted of the Number of three hundred Men regular Troops, and two hundred Militia. They forc'd them from one Street to another, and after a vigorous resistance, and great loss on both Sides, they shut themselves
up

up in the Church, and made themselves Masters of the Place. General *Julien* who was but two Leagues from thence, and having heard what had been done, intended to go immediately to their Succour; but being informed *Roland* was there, he wou'd go no further, but immediately sent orders to Brigadier *la Planques*, who was Commanding at *St. Etienne*, to come to meet him with all his Forces. As for me I began my March at the Day appointed: But unfortunately was stop'd by bad Weather, and want of Provision, so that I was obliged to go back. I gave Notice thereof to *Roland*, who defended himself for two Days in *Genovillac*, against the Garrison that was in the Church, and the Militia of the Neighbourhood, but at the approach of *Julien* and *la Planques*, he went out of *Genovillac*, and retired into the Woods; and those two Officers retired with their Troops into their Quarters. Had I been able to join *Roland*, and keep possession of *Genovillac*, we wou'd soon have seen a general insurrection, for we were resolved to destroy that Place, to the End it should no more serve as a retreat to the Enemy; and from thence to go to *Vivarez* and *Rouvergues*, but especially to the latter, where there was already an Insurrection in
some

some of the Papist's Villages, who had taken up Arms by reason they could not pay the Pole Tax, and had declared, that in case their Goods were seized and exposed to publick Sale, they would join the *Camisards*. I sent two Ingenious Men thither, who from Time to Time, carefully inform'd me of every Thing and though the Magistrates of that Province, had appeased the Malecontents, by their fair Promises. I do not question but they would have taken up Arms, had they been seconded by us; but bad Weather as I said before put a stop to this Project and many others.

I N the Month of *December*, *Roland* and I formed a Design to surprize the Garrison of *Durfort*; but could not, it being reinforced the same Day.

B E I N G thus disappointed, we went directly towards the Mountain, *Lauzere*, in order to disarm four or five large Boroughs, all Papists; and from thence go and do some considerable Action about *Rouvergnes*, where I had sent some Men to incite the People to a general Insurrection, but all our Projects prov-

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ved unsuccessful, because our March was discovered, and that we were obstructed on the Top of the Mountain, by violent Rain, and Snow; which obliged Roland and me to separate: At that Time, Brigadier *Julien* was posted near the Bridge *Montrevert* with twenty Companies of *Miquelets*, and three Battalions of regular Troops; who when he heard I was but two Leagues from him, he sent to Brigadier *Planque*, desiring him to come and join him in order to attack me; but he was disappointed, for I did not think proper to wait for him, knowing he'd be four against one. Having stay'd eight Days on the Mountains, I retired, being attack'd all at once by three Scourges, viz, Want of Provision, Bad Weather, and Powerful Enemies; however, God of his infinite Bounty granted us the Favour to bear patiently all these Inconveniences, deliver'd us from these barren and dreadful Places, and conducted us safe between *Anduze*, and *Allex*. As I wanted some Rest for the Remains of Winter, I sent the most Part of my Men to quarter in their own Houses, and only kept those with me, who could not retire without being discovered. We lived together in the Woods during the

Rigour

Rigour of the Season, on the Provisions we had collected in the Summer, and repositied in the Magazines we had in the Caverns on the high Mountains, as I said before.



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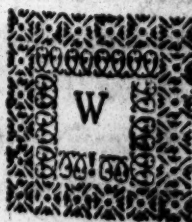
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MEMOIRS
OF THE
WARS
OF THE
CEVENNES.

BOOK IV.



WE spent the Remains of the Winter that Year quietly, because we appear'd but seldom; and if we were forc'd to it, it was in several Places, and small Bodies. The Enemy came but seldom to attack us. *Marſchal de Montrevel* did not feel the

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the Rigour of the Season, his Heart being inflamed with the Love of the fair Ladies, and therefore did not trouble us much. And I was not sorry that he was pleas'd to live quietly, as we did, for there was scarce a Word said of us, which occasioned this General to despise us, and write to Court, that we were all dispers'd, and entirely defeated. This Calm gave us Time to breath; however, they had sent such a vast Number of Troops in the Beginning of the Winter, that the whole Province swarm'd with them: They were at least Five and Twenty Thousand Men, of regular Troops, which stay'd there 'till Spring. However, God's Providence preserved us in the Midst of them; 'Tis true, they came sometimes to attack us, but if their Detachments were small, they were soon surprized, and beaten, and if too strong, we knew how to avoid them. When the Winter was over, they were obliged to send Troops to *Spain, Germany, and Italy*, so that there remain'd in the Country but Twelve Thousand Men (more than there was Occasion for to destroy us). However, the King having private Intelligence, that the Allies were resolv'd to succour us, and fearing a Descent of them in *Languedoc*, a City near *Montpellier* immediately,

immediately recall'd some Troops from *Italy*, which with those that were in the Country, made a Body of Sixteen Thousand Men, which serv'd against us the following Campaign. As to my Condition and Number of Men, I'll speak but two Words thereof, *viz.* when the Season was over in the Country, my Men returned to me, and in a short Time my Troop consisted of between One Thousand and Twelve Hundred Foot; and One Hundred Horse. I wish'd with great Ardency that the Succours they had so often promised us, wou'd come; being almost sure I wou'd see them appear in the Beginning of that Campaign on the Coasts of the Mediterranean Sea, which occasion'd me to go several Times towards *Vaunage*, with a Design to join them as soon as they wou'd land. In the Beginning of *February* 1704, it was reported that *Mareschal Montrevel* was to be call'd back, to go and command in *Guienne*, and was to be succeeded by *Mareschal Villars*. Then they begun to talk differently on this sudden Change, some said that it was because *Mareschal Montrevel* had not destroy'd us, as soon as he, both cou'd, and shou'd, have done. The Clergy believed that it was the Effect of the pressing Letters they had sent to Court

Court, against him, and in which, they complain'd very much, that the Mareschal behaved himself with so great Carelessness, that it seem'd as if he had some private Correspondence with us. This Change was occasioned by Intendant *Baville*, he being the sole Cause thereof; the Reader ought to know, that the Court, not being well pleas'd with the two Brothers in Law, viz. the Count of *Broglie*, and Intendant *Baville*, on Account of the ill Success of the first against us, and the Extortions and Violences of the other, sent the Mareschal *Montrevel* to command in the Room of Count *Broglie*, and to examine into the Conduct of the Intendant strictly, and to give the Court Notice. Monsieur *Baville* was so happy as to have some good Friends at *Versailles*, who (under Hand) gave him Notice of what was acting against him: Such bad News was enough to oppress a Man, who 'till then had been absolute Master of the Province; and found himself guilty of a Thousand Misdemeanours, knowing they foretold him, that this Mareschal was coming not only to be his Superior, but what was worse, to be also an Inquisitor, was to examine strictly into all his past Actions, and send a faithful Account thereof to Court: This subtle

Politician

Politician knew very well that he would be undone for ever, if the Marechal would perform his Commission. However he was no way disheartned and as soon as he was inform'd of the Marechal's Arrival he dissembled so well, and made his Court so constantly, that by his humble and insinuating behaviour, he gained his Esteem, and Friendship. Not satisfied therewith, he got a Letter from the Marechal in his behalf, to clear him from all the Accusations made against him at Court. The Intendant having soon heard the happy success of this Letter; and that he was had in greater Esteem at Court than ever; made use of all his Wisdom to make the Marechal quit the Province. As he was unaccustom'd to have any Superiour, and being unwilling it should be said, he had been employ'd to observe his Actions, with detestable ingratitude Wrote to Court against the Marechal, saying that instead of destroying us, he apply'd himself to Nothing but Love, minding his building a Terrass at *Alez*. The Marechal got Notice by one of his Friends of the Intendant's infamous proceeding, and consequently they were both at variance. The Marechal would willingly have repaired the fault, but it was too late; for the Intendant

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had taken such measures, that he could do him no harm. The only revenge he could get, was to vex, and make him trot up and down, as often as he pleas'd, under pretence of some Business for the King's Service, whereof here is an example; as the Mareschal commonly lived at *Allez* to be the more ready to fight us, he sent orders one Day to Monsieur de *Baville*, who was at *Montpelier* to come to him at such a Day, to confer with him on some orders he had received from Court. The Intendant did not fail to go to *Allez* at the Day appointed, and to the Mareschal's House, who left him for a long Time waiting in his Anti-Chamber, and afterwards sent him word, he would not be seen; tho' at that Time he had more than Twenty Officers, in ordinary in his Room. *Baville* who was vexed, (or more properly speaking, Mad at such Usage) dissembled as usually he did. But those who saw it took Notice of the Intendant's Resentment, who was fateigued and provoked waiting so long, and sent the second Time to the Mareschal, who came to the Chamber Door, to give him some frivolous Orders. While *Baville* was retiring the Mareschal said with a loud Voice, that *There were some People who endeavoured to make him quit*

quit the Province, but they should quit it before him. Baviile who did not well hear what the Mareschal said, ask'd it of an Officer who helped him to Walk; being much afflicted with the Gout, who repeated the Mareschal's Words. *Baviile* who knew they were directed to him, told all the Officers who came after him, that, *The Mareschal wou'd quit the Province before two Months wou'd be expired.* I cannot forbear relating what happen'd on that Occasion; which is as follows. When the Intendant came out from the Mareschal's House, all the Officers who were there, to pay their Court, followed *Baviile* to accompany him, and left the Mareschal alone; so great was the Intendant's Authority in the Province: Tho' the Intendant was not a Prophet, yet his Prediction was accomplish'd at the Time appointed. For before two Months were expired, the Mareschal was obliged to quit the Province to give room to Mareschal *Villars* in Order to set out for the Province of *Guienne*. My Spies gave me a very good account of all Things, and that the Mareschal wou'd not make any stay, but was to pass through *Somieres*; which made me form a Design of taking some Advantage by the absence of the two Mareschals; and

to surprize the Garrison of *Caveirac* in *Vau-nage*: But one of my Spies betrayed me, and discovered my Design to the Marechal, who had time sufficient to assemble more than Four Thousand Five Hundred Men together, and to lay Ambushes for me in all Passages we were to March through. He went from *Nimes* to *Somieres*, where he stayed two Days longer than I expected; when I thought him at a good Distance, I came out from the Woods with Eight Hundred Foot, and One Hundred Horse, and went directly to *Caverac* where there was a small Garrison, which retired into the Castle, from whence I could not force them: Having demolish'd their Entrenchments, I retired with my Troop near *Langlade*. Being mightily fatigu'd with marching, I was willing to give my Troop a little rest on a Hill where I left two Centinels on Horse-back, to Watch. My Men were no sooner laid on the Ground than they fell asleep. As for me, I walk'd half an Hour to overcome Sleep; but at last was obliged to do as the rest. And scarce had I laid myself on the Ground, when I heard the Shots of my Centinels, who cry'd out, *To Arms*, which presently awaken'd us. They had scarce spoke, before my Men had placed themselves
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in a Posture of Defence : For they commonly lay on the Ground with their Arms in their Hands; and my Troopers in the same Manner with their Bridles, affixed to their Arms, being thereby always ready for their own Defence. The Regiment of *Firmarcon*, which without doubt came to observe us ; but finding they were discovered and believing they had surprized us, they fell on us like Lyons, and we received them like Men: After having resisted their first Volley, I fell on them with my hundred Troopers, being close followed by the Foot, and put them to flight. I took about twenty Horse from them, and kill'd several of their Dragoons. I had three Troopers wounded, and my Horse shot in the Side, which was in a Manner the occasion of my defeat ; for as I could not run fast enough to stop my Men, who pursued the Dragoons of *Firmarcon*, with such Vigour, that they had not Time to discover an Ambuscade which lay for them ; when the Enemy who were in Ambuscade for us, saw we were pursuing the Dragoons of *Firmarcon*, fear'd to meet with the same Fate, which obliged them to come out from behind the Vineyard Walls, which covered them, to rank themselves in Battalia, and to wait for us, without stirring

stirring from the Place. We were then too near to retutn back and shun the Combat; when we began to engage, I was inform'd of a Detachment of the Enemy at my left, and two or three Country-Men came to tell me that there was a great Body of them form'd in Martial Order behind two or three Hills. Finding my self thus surrounded every Way, and knowing we were not able to engage with so many Detachments at once, I order'd my Men to wheel about, and rally behind a Ditch, two hundred Yards from the Enemy. Their Dragoons pursued me, but did me no hurt, never daring to come within a Sword's length. Then I thought my self safe, and resolv'd to retire to a certain Place not possessed by the Enemy, and would have done it, had not a Country Fellow told me of a Defilce by which I cou'd go safe to *Naye*. Having followed his Counsel, I fell into a Snare, which the Mareschal had laid for me on that Side; for I no sooner was in the Middle of that Village than I saw my self surrounded every where, without any expectation to escape. The Mareschal had taken possession of all the Hills and Avenues thereabout; which bordering by the Vineyard-Walls, were as strong as so many inaccessible Intrench-

Intrinchments; he having posted a strong Detachment of Dragoons and Grenadiers, at the Foot of those Hills and Roads. After having examined into the Posture of our Enemies, we expected nothing but Death; wherefore I posted my self at the Head of my Troopers, having more resolution to dispute the short Moments of my Life, than hope to make our Escape. I told my Men they saw the danger we were in as well as I, and that there was no remedy, but to conquer, or die like valient Men, in the Defence of our Religion, and Liberty. I hoped, with the help of God, we should be saved; which Discourse so animated them, that we attack'd without the least Inadvertency, the first Detachment, which was posted on our Way. The fight was so obstinate and Bloody, and the Soldiers so close, as to take each other by the Hair, and Stab one another with their Bayonets: However, they let us pass by, knowing their Horse were waiting for me near a Bridge, and expecting we should be all destroy'd when attack'd before and behind. After having thus forced the first Detachment with the loss of two hundred Men; we went to attack the Regiment of *Firmarcon*, which guarded the Bridge, but their Defence not being so vigo-

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gorous as that we had lately met with, we soon obliged them to give Ground, and immediately we went over the Bridge in sight of four thousand five hundred Men who had encompassed us.

I had then one of my Brothers with me, who was not above ten Years of Age, to whom I had given a little Horse and small Pistols. He was the first that pass'd over the Bridge, where he did an Action which could not be expected from one of his Years, which was, that, when my Men were passing over, he stopp'd them with Pistol in Hand, and order'd them to stand and Post themselves along the River, in order (said he) to facilitate my Brother's Passage. Being over, with my Men, I was willing to break the Bridge, but the River being Fordable every where we thought it would be of none effect. The Enemy were soon after me, and we skirmish'd the rest of the Day. Towards Night the Enemy perceiving I was going towards the Wood of *Montpezat*, and that we were to pass over another Bridge, they took an Opportunity while we were going thro' a Defilee, to attack the Rear of my Troop where I was. I defended my self the best way I could, but be-

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ing obliged to yield to so great a Number. The Enemy defeated all my Rear Guard, and pursued me as far as the Wood, which good Luck for us was scarce a Pistol shot distance from the Bridge. I lost in that unfortunate Day more Men than I ever had done at once viz. to the Number of four hundred Foot and Horse after this Manner, for I was no sooner out of one Calamity but enter'd in another. Thus Mareschal *Montrevel* (to make use of his expressions) took leave of his Friends.

A S soon as I had got far enough into the Wood, and the Enemy not pursuing me any further, I Reflected at leisure on my Misfortune, and found that my loss was so considerable, that it was irreparable, for I had lost a great quantity of Arms, all my Ammunition, Money, and above all, a body of Soldiers, used to fire and fatigue, with whom, I might have undertaken any Enterprize. However, I did not Despair, but as well as I could, cheer'd up the Hearts of those that were with me, with the hopes of better success for the future. After having stay'd two Days in the Wood *Montpezat*, I went with the remains of my Troop, to that of *Touzet*, where I expected

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pected to gather those that were dispersed, and to recover our selves. As it was one of our most secure Places of refuge, I thought my self very safe there; but was much Mistaken, for the second Day after I arrived there, I was attack'd by two thousand six hundred Men, commanded by Lieutenant General *la Lande*, who had no difficulty in beating and dispersing my Men. However, this Defeat altho' very fatal, wou'd not have been so Prejudicial to us, had it not been follow'd by the discovery and ruin of our Magazines. Some Traytors inform'd the General, that we had all our Magazines, Ammunitions and Hospitals in these Woods; and that while they lasted, it was impossible for him to put an End to us; and acquainted him there was in *Teuset's* Village, an old Woman very much in our Interest, who knew all these Places very well; and that she had been seen very often, carrying Broth to the Sick Men, and often stay'd there to take Care of the wounded. General *la Lande*, without doubt, made very good use of such Advice; and immediately got the poor Woman taken up, questioned her sometimes with fair Words, and other times with Threatnings; but all in vain, she boldly deny'd every thing whereof they

they accused her: But when he found, he could not prevail upon her, he commanded her to be hang'd, and sent her immediately to the Place of Execution; but the poor Creature was so terrify'd at the sight of the Gallows, that she promis'd to discover every Thing, if they would save her Life; whereupon they brought her back to the General, who gave her his word, that he wou'd do her no harm, if she wou'd faithfully shew him all our Magazines: Which having promis'd to do, she afterwards became Guide herself to the Soldiers, who went with her; and began first by discovering my Hospitals, where they found twelve wounded Men, not in a condition to help themselves, or make the least Resistance, whom they took out of the Cavern and kill'd; from whence they went to our Magazines of Arms, and Ammunition, which they took immediately; and afterwards went to my Powder Mills, which they broke in Pieces; which loss was more fatal to me than all the former put together: Before, I had always some Shift to set my self up again, but then had none at all; for the whole Country was desolate, our Friend's Love grew cold, their Purfes being Empty, a hundred Boroughs and Villages plundered and burn'd,

Burned, the Prisons full of poor Protestants, and the Country reduced to a Desert; all which dreadful Ideas, gave me a great deal of Uneasiness, and the more, that the Succours, which had been promised me for two Years before from *England*, did not come, and that Mareschal de *Villars*, was arrived in the Province, with fresh Troops; which terrified me and my Friends very much.

THE first Thing this brave General did after his Arrival, was to send for all the Chief of the Magistrates of the Cities and Boroughs near the Places I frequented most, to send to me and give me Notice, that if I would come to any agreement and lay down Arms, he had orders from the King to grant me all my just demands; but if I should refuse, we might expect no favour, and that he would destroy all the Protestants he cou'd meet with in that Country; but neither his terrible Threatnings, nor his fair promises made any impression on us; I often received Letters from several Persons of Distinction, inviting me to make Peace with the King, and promising me all the advantages I could wish for, but they could not move me, tho' in a miserable condition. I received one from the Marquis

quis *la Lande*, in which he invited me to a Conference, where I might go with all safety, and in case we could not conclude any thing that I might safely retire; to which he added, that in case I refuse his Offers, I'd be look'd upon as an Enemy to Peace, and that I should answer before God and Man, for all the blood which shou'd be shed thro' my obstinacy; which Letter had a very great effect upon me, wherefore, that my Friends or Enemies, might have no just pretence to blame me, I resolv'd to let the World see that I was ready to embrace the first Opportunity to make an advantageous Peace; and to that Purpose did instantly send word to Monsieur *la Lande*, by the Person who brought me his Letter, that I'd be very glad to confer with so honest a Man, as he was, and if he'd be pleas'd to come near *St. Hilaire*, a small League from *Alez*. I would not fail to be there; whither he accordingly repair'd on the Day appointed, with fifty Dragoons and I went to meet him with Fifty of my Troopers, having saluted each other, he told me that the King by an Effect of his Clemency, wish'd to put an End to a War between his own Subjects, which could produce Nothing but the Ruin of his Kingdom, and that

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it was his own Enemys who had stir'd it up, and fomented it; after which he ask'd me what were my Claims and Demands, I told him that my first Demand was to have Liberty of Conscience, the second the Release of all Prisoners, and those that were in the Gallies, for their Religion sake; the third that in case they won'd refuse us the liberty of Conscience, at least to give us leave to depart out of the Kingdom; which last Proposition seem'd easier for him to do, and then ask'd me how many Persons I wou'd have to go out of the Kingdom with me? I told him ten Thousand of all Sexes and Ages; he did not expect I would name so many, whereupon he told me, they cou'd grant me two thousand, but would never consent to give me the Number I demanded; I proceeded in my Discourse and told him I'd have a Pass-port for ten Thousand, and go out in three Months after, having got leave to sell, and settle our Estates. And that in case the King would not permit us to go out of his Kingdom, restore us our Edicts and Priviledges as formerly; he answered me, he would give an account to the Marschal of our conference, and was very sorry we could not come to any Resolution; then he threw some Money to my Men, and

and bid them go and drink the King's Health, but not one would accept thereof; but return'd him Thanks, and told him they did not want Money, but liberty of Conscience. The General answered, it was not in his power to grant them their Request, and that it was better for them to submit to the King's Pleasure; I answered we were ready to obey the King's Order, if he would be graciously pleased to grant us our Request, or else we would rather die with our Arms in Hand than bear the Cruelties which we had been exposed to; after a small conference, we parted, without concluding any Thing, and I return'd to my Troop and gave an account of our Conference. In a few Days Lieutenant General *la Lande* gave out the same, after having given an account to the Mareschal thereof.

SEVERAL of my Friends came to me and told me, that the Terms of Peace offered by the Mareschal seemed so reasonable, that most People began to think we were to blame in rejecting them; that if those Conditions were honestly performed, it was as much as we cou'd desire, and that if it should at last prove, that they had deceived us by the Perfidy of the Court, and Mareschal, it would

would appear to their eternal Confusion, and would justify our taking up Arms to all the World.

T H E S E Considerations had their Weight with me, but yet after so many Tryals of their Insincerity and little Regard to the Religious Ties of the most solemn Treaties so often made, sworn to, and yet frequently broke, I did not know how to depend upon their Faith.

O N the other Hand, the lowest State to which our Affairs were reduc'd, fill'd me with Apprehensions, not only for myself, but my Party, which join'd to the pressing Instances of the greater Part of the People in the Country, occasion'd me to hearken to an Accommodation. There was then in the Country the Baron *de Gailles*, who had been a Protestant, quitted *France*, and served as an Officer in the last War of *Ireland*, but the Love of this World made him return to his Country, where he abjur'd his Religion, and conform'd to the Church of *Rome*; he sent me a Message, that he had something of great Importance to communicate to me from the *Marschal Villars*, desiring that I would meet

meet him at St. John Sairargues, being two Leagues from Uzes. I went accordingly, and after the usual Compliments, he entertain'd me with a long Discourse, tending to shew me the Danger I expos'd myself to, by refusing the advantageous Offers that were made me, that I might depend upon it, that his Majesty wou'd act *Bona Fide* with us, and to that Purpose, had given the Marechal a Power to treat with us, the Truth of which, he was sure wou'd appear by the Event; adding, for a Reason that the Infurrection in the *Cevennes* had made such a powerful Diversion, and had given his Majesty so much Trouble, that his Interest, as well as Honour, engaged him punctually to execute all the Articles that should be covenanted with Marechal *Willars*; that if I wou'd but set down all my Demands in Writing, he wou'd carry them to the Marechal, who was then at *Nimes*, and that he would bring me back an answer, tho' I was a little distrustful of him on account of his Apostacy; yet I did as he desired; and three Days after, he brought me this general Answer.

THAT, my Demands did not admit of much Difficulty; that I might meet, and Confer with

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him,

him, with full Confidence; that he would give me his Word and Honour of a safe Conduct, a Hostage as Pledge of his Sincerity. A Man of greater Experience than I was, would perhaps have acted with more Caution on this Critical Occasion, and would Probably have avoided to treat with the Mareschal Personally, but would have appointed a Deputy for that purpose; but my Youth and Unexperience gave me Confidence, and the rather because there were none about me much Wiser than my self, or more practised in Affairs of this Nature, that I could confide in; and trusting entirely in Providence, I resolv'd to go and Confer with the Mareschal Villars, who appointed me to meet him in a Garden belonging to a Convent of the *Franciscans*, opposite one of the Gates of *Nimes*; but first I took Care to secure his Hostages, which done, I posted my Men at *Langlade*, a little Place about a League distance from *Nimes*; with a secret Charge to be upon their Guard; out of these I Chose fifty Horse-men, to attend me to the Place appointed. The Roads were full of People, who crouded from all Parts to see the Ceremony; as soon as I came to the Garden, I found the Mareschal's Guard drawn up in a Line, at one Side of the Door, upon

upon which, I ordered my Men to alight, and draw up in the same Manner on the opposite Side, and then went into the Garden where the Mareschal was; the Intendant Monsieur *Baville*, Lieutenant General *la Lande*, and the Mareschal did me the Honour to come forward to meet me; but such was their surprise, when they saw me look so Young, that they look'd for some time at each other, and seem'd to doubt whether I was the Man they expected; at last the Mareschal step'd forward, and pass'd a very civil Compliment on me, which I answered in the best Manner I was able, but I look'd at Monsieur *Baville*, as if I had not known him; which made him, when I began to make my Demands to the Mareschal, break out and say in a Rage, that the King was very Merciful to condescend to Treat with such a Rebel as I was. I answered, that as that was not the Business I came about, if they had Nothing else to say to me, I might as well have stay'd away, and that I would retire; adding that he alone had forced us to take up Arms by his Tiranny and Cruelties. The Mareschal *Villars* observing his Passion, interrupted us saying, That the King's intentions were to spare his Subjects, and to use easy Methods to reduce them

A Conference with
Mareschal
Villars.

to their Duty. Then turning to me, Sir, says he, It is with me you are to treat. But the Intendant still insisted and in his ill Humour, told me that I was too Happy, that the King was willing to Pardon me, without pretending to insist upon any Articles. I answered, that I had not taken up Arms upon my own own Account, and since my Brethren and Friends had reposed their confidence in me, I was obliged to Support and take Care of their Interest, that outrageous Manner in which we had been treated, forc'd us to those Extremities; and since Things were gone so far, we were resolved either to have our just demands, or die with our Arms in our Hands. Then the Intendant fell into so great a Passion, as put me in some apprehension; but the Marechal, who to do him Justice, is a polite fine Gentleman, interposed saying, Monsieur *Cavallier*, take no Notice of what Monsieur *Barville* says, I told you it is with me you are to Treat; accordingly I delivered my Demands by Word of Mouth, and when I had done, you insist (says he,) upon liberty of Conscience, the King is willing to grant it to you; you shall live as you think fit; he will also permit you to meet, and have Service in your own Way, but not to build Churches

Churches, you ought to be satisfied with this, having taken up Arms against his Majesty, and you are to receive this as a proof of his great Clemency, which if you refuse, he will find ways to reduce you to your Duty, by other Measures; and other Words to the same purpose. Then he ask'd me whether I was willing to serve the King, which wou'd be more Honourable than to quit my Country. I answered I would serve him with all my Heart, provided my Demands were granted, he should find his Majesty had not a more faithful Subject. He then desired that I wou'd write them down, not having seen the Paper I had given to the Barron *D'Aigallies*, I promised to give them in the next Day, as also, according to his Desire, to forbear Hostilities, till he had sent, and received an Answer from Court. I then took leave and left him, not over pleased with my Conference; notwithstanding the Marechal's fair Words (as having no great Dependance on them) I took Horse, and in my way, was an Inn, where I stay'd to refresh my self, where I perceived a great deal of Joy in the Faces of many of the Inhabitants, who crowded to see me. As soon as I had got to my Men, I sent back the twelve Officers, who were Hostages, and
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immediatly informed *Rolland* of all that had had pass at the Conference.

H E had, in the mean Time, defeated, and entirely destroyed the Regiment of *Enau*, but as soon, as he had the Account of the Agreement between *Mareschal Villars* and me, he immediately not only accepted the Cessation of Arms, but communicated it to others, who commanded separate Bodies, who all observed it. He sent me a Message by the Return of the Express, that he was ready to submit, provided the Terms, I had proposed, were granted, and observed; but that he much doubted the Performance; that unless we had some Security, it were Madness to trust to the bare Promises of the Court; and, that for his part, he would rather die with his Sword in Hand, than expose himself, or his Men, to the Snares of an unsecure Peace; but that we should meet, and talk more of the Matter.

H A V I N G sent my Demands to the *Mareschal Villars*, I marched my Men to *Calvion*, where he appointed me to remain, till he had the Court's Answer; and, according to an Article between us, sent Provisions to
subsist

subfist us, at the King's, or rather, at the Country's, Expence.

A F T E R eight Days stay at this Place, I received a Letter from Marechal *Villars*, by the Baron *D'Aigallies*, intimating, that he had the Court's Answer; and desiring me to come to him. We were not a little embarrassed at this critical Juncture, having no Body amongst us, sufficiently skill'd in Affairs of this Nature, to draw up our Articles; however, we did it in the best Manner we were able; and such as they were, neither the Court, nor the Marechal, thought fit to alter any of them, only at the Foot of each writ, *Granted or Refused*: But whether they were ever laid before the King, or only before his Ministers, is what I am not able to determine.

W H E N I waited on the Marechal, instead of full Satisfaction, I found some of the most material Conditions were refused, and yet, we had been still pretty well, had even those, that were granted, been observed. when I expostulated on this Severity, especially on our Demands, being denied Cautionary Towns, he reply'd, that his Royal Word was better than twenty Cautionary Towns;
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and that after all the Trouble we had given him, we ought to esteem it; as an Instance of his Majesty's great Clemency, that he should grant so many of our Demands.

THIS mortified me sufficiently, but seeing it was too late to go back, and besides, having my Reasons, as well as the Court, for making Peace, I resolved to conclude it with as good a Grace as I could. So the Marschal and Monsieur *de Basville* signed in the King's Name, on one Part, and my Lieutenant *Brilliard* and I signed on the other. The Instrument was as follows.

The humble Request of the Protestants in the Province of Languedoc to his Majesty.

I. **THAT** his Majesty be pleased to grant us Liberty of Conscience in all the Province; and to hold Religious Assemblies, in such Country Places as they shall think convenient, and not in Cities or walled Towns.

Granted provided they do not build Churches.

II. **THAT** all such, as are detained in Gallies, only on Account of Religion;

ligion since the Revolution of the Edict of Nantes, be set at Liberty in six Weeks after the Date hereof.

G R A N T E D.

III. **T H A T** all who have left the Kingdom, on Account of Religion, shall have free Liberty to return, and be restored to their Estates and Priviledges.

Granted, on Condition they take the Oath of Allegiance to the King.

IV. **T H A T** the Parliament of Languedoc, shall be established on it's ancient Foot, and restored to it's Priviledges.

The King will Advise.

V. **T H A T** no Capitation Tax shall be paid by the Province, during the Space of ten Years.

R E F U S E D.

VI. **T H A T** we shall have the Cities of Mompellier, Cette, Perpignan and Aiguemortes, as Cautionary Towns.

R E F U S E D.

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VII.

VII. T H A T the Inhabitants of the *Cevennes*, whose Houses have been burned in the Wars, shall pay no Imposts for the term of seven Years.

G R A N T E D.

VIII. T H A T out of a Body of two thousand of these who were actually with him, or such as shall be deliver'd out of the several Prisons, he shall raise a Regiment of Dragoons to serve in *Portugal*, and that he shall receive his orders immediately from the King.

Granted provided the remainder lay down their Arms, that the King will permit them to live undisturb'd, in the exercise of their Religion.

BY Virtue of a full power we have received from his Majesty we have granted the above Articles to the *New Converts* of the Province of *Languedoc*.

Given at Nimes the 17th of May 1704.

The Marechal VILLARS.

Lamoignon de BASVILLE.

J. CAVALLIER.

Dan. BILLIARD.

T H E

T H E Mareschal and Monsieur *de Barville*, seem'd so extreamly well pleased with the conclusion of this Affair, that they order'd the Comissaries who were at *Calvison*, to furnish my Men with whatever they should want, till the Terms of the Treaty were executed; that is, 'till the Prisoners and Gallotiens were enlarged, as expressed in the second Article; in the mean time, I repair'd to *Calvison*, where I found the 2000 Men out of which I was to form a Regiment, besides many others who were willing to serve with me, who crowded us with great appearances of Satisfaction, imagining all their Troubles and Misfortunes were at an End. Never was Joy more universal, nor of so short continuance. The whole Country expressed in different ways their Thanks to Providence for the Beginning of Liberty, and many Roman Catholicks joined with them, but this turned to their prejudice for it created Jealousy in the Romish Clergy; who in a great deal of Heat, gathered about the Mareschal, and the Intendant, telling them that all was lost, and that they were setting up, and re-establishing Heresy. They sent divers expresses to Court; and the Jesuites represented the Matter to the King, so that they procured an order to the

M m 2 Mareschal

Mareschal, to suppress our Assemblies, and to hinder our Friends and Relations, from coming to us at *Calvison*, to which purpose, they placed Detachments in several parts round about. Upon this I immediately went to *Nîmes*, and waited on the Mareschal, and expostulated with him, that the principal Articles of the Treaty were infringed before the Time expired for its full execution. That it had an appearance, as if it had been set on foot only to ensnare us, and to make us lay down our Arms. I beg'd that he would give immediate Orders, that all who were arrested either coming to, or going from our Assemblies, shou'd be set at liberty. He replied, assuring me, that all I complain'd of, had been done without his Orders, and that his intention was punctually to perform all that had been stipulated with the Court. However secure he might be in the Matter, we found by the event, that all was done only to lull us asleep. I gave my Men an Account of this, who for reasons that I had given them, pretended to be wholly ignorant of it, for by this time having plain grounds to suspect we were deceived, we resolv'd to prevent them, as we certainly had done by an attempt we had concerted upon *Montpellier*.

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but were prevented by an Order from Court that I should without loss of Time set forward.

WHILST all this was doing, the Marechal having information that *Roland* was posted with his Detachment at *Lassale* a little Place about two Leagues from *Anduze*, he laid a design to surprize him, and was very near succeeding. For he had got into a little Village apart from his Detachment with only eight of his Men, not dreaming of any Danger but, well for him, one of them was an *English* Soldier, a very smart Fellow, who seeing the Enemy, and being at such a distance, that he could not give him Notice time enough (they being nearer the House than he was) fired his Piece, which alarmed *Roland*, and gave him just Time enough to escape into the Mountains, but with the loss of his Horse, to the great mortification of the Enemy. 'Tis very probable that *Roland* had been betray'd by some of his Men, because he wou'd not accept of the Treaty I made with the Marechal, to the great concern (it must be owned) of the generality of that Country, who by his standing out, found themselves still exposed to the
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fury of the Troops, and in danger of being entirely ruined.

AFTER this the Marechal sent for me, and desired me to go to confer with *Roland*, and endeavour to perswade him to Submit and come into the Treaty. I obey'd his Commands so far as to go to *Roland*, but being now fully perswaded these Steps and appearances of a Treaty, were design'd purposely to deceive us, I confirmed him in his resolution, not to surrender till the Articles, agreed upon between them and me, were fully performed, and in case they were not, I gave him my word and Honour that I wou'd take the first Opportunity to leave *France*; we agreed that it was Necessary to give out that there was a misunderstanding between him and me.

WE parted seemingly in that Disposition, he telling me with Disdain, in the presence of his Men, that he would have no more to say to me, that since I was become the Marechal's Ambassador, I might, if I pleased, tell him, that he resolved to die Sword in Hand, unless the Edict of *Nants* was restored in its full Power and extent.

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S O I left *Roland*, and went to make my Report to the Mareschal, telling him that the only way to bring him to Reason was faithfully to execute the Treaty I had the honour to make with him. The Mareschal seem'd much concerned at this, and told me with some heat, that he wou'd find Means to humble him, adding that he would destroy the Country with Fire and Sword.

I represented how obstinate soever he might be, the poor Inhabitants could not help it, and that I hoped, he wou'd not confound the innocent with the guilty; he reply'd that he knew how to distinguish, and that those who refused to Submit, should meet with condign punishment; that the King would be obey'd, and none must expect Mercy, of which I gave *Roland* Notice by the first Opportunity, that he might take Care, and be on his guard. Soon after the Mareschal went to *Allez*, and I went with him, in order to procure liberty for my Father, Brother and some other Friends, that were Prisoners, which to give him his due he did very generously, to the great Joy of these poor unhappy People, and Mortification of my Enemies, who were vexed at Heart to see such Numbers of People gathered together

ther with great Eagerness to see me, and who all together made a very odd consort, some bestowing Blessings, and others loading me with Curses; after Dinner I went by the Marschal's Perswasions, to wait on the Bishop of that Diocess; he received me very gratefully, and taking me by the Hand, God be praised (says he) *You were once a lost Sheep, but now you are found again, I hope that you'll soon be in the Bosom of the Church, as a Child in that of its Mother, you are young and do not yet understand what belongs to your Salvation, but I will instruct and assist you in it.* Then he lead me into his Library; which appeared very fine, and after some Time spent, in walking and looking about, his Lordship took down two Bibles, the one Greek and the other Latin, and ask'd me which of the two was best, I answered, that I understood neither Greek, nor Latin, but that I had heard that the Original was better than any Copy. He understood what I meant perfectly well, and said to me, Child, you do not know what you say, for the Fathers, from whom we derive that Tradition, had explained many material Passages, that were of themselves so obscure, that without it, we never could have been able to come at the true Meaning of them,

them; he then went out to talk to me, on some controversial Points, but I took the first Opportunity to cut him short, and told him that I had read little besides the Old and New Testament, which I believed, was the only Rule of Faith, and ended the Discourse, but a Priest who was in the Company, attacked me with the Antiquity of the Church, saying, that all the Points and Practices, of it had been established by St. *Peter*, the Prince of the Apostles, whose true successor was the Pope; I answered that their Religion was entirely of a modern Composition, like a new House built upon the ruins of some noble Edifice, and as well as I was able, Spoke of some Points, particularly to that of the intercession of Saints, which was altogether needless, since God commanded us to Pray to himself, thro' the merits of one Mediator Jesus Christ; after which I begged his Lordship leave to retire, saying I was not capable to maintain a dispute with men of his Learning, which he granted telling me with great mildness, that I had a good Memory, and that it was a Pity that I did not employ my time in reading good Books. I took my leave, and from thence went to see a Relation of mine, who on account of Religion had been confin'd in

a Convent at *Nimes*, whose Enlargement I procured tho' not without great Difficulty. This visit gave me an Opportunity of seeing the Mareschal *Montrevel's* Mistress, who, as soon as she heard that I was at the Gate, came and merrily told me, that she was glad to see me, and congratulated me, and said I had not only the honour to make head against two Mareschals, but also obliged them to capitulate; after a little kind of this civil Conversation, she with an Air of Gallantry reproached me with intercepting some of her Letters to the Mareschal? which I excused as well as I was able, after which, I visited her two or three times at certain Intervlas of time, that I had nothing else to do.

S O O N after I went with the Mareschal to *Nimes*, and from thence to *Calvison*, where my Men Expected me with great impatience, because the Time fixt for our departure drew near; notwithstanding few of the Prisoners who were all related to some or other of us, were enlarged, they were apprehensive that once we were gone, they should never see us again, and tho' I was very uneasy, and of the same Opinion they were of, yet I put the best face on it I could, and bid them take Courage,
for

for I hoped all would end to their Satisfaction, I writ to the Marechal upon that Subject, who answered that he was actually employed in the Execution of our agreement, but that the King was very Angry that I admitted all the new Converts into our Assemblies, that therefore it was his Majesty's pleasure, that I should set out with my Men in three Days for *Montpellier*, where we were to receive a rout for *Spain*; he ordered me at the same time, to send him a List of their Names and Surnames, and the Places of their Nativity.

THEIR proceedings after this manner, gave me terrible Apprehensions, and fully confirmed me in all my Doubts: For as soon as I had communicated it to my Men, in Number about *Two thousand*, all able Men, who were resolved to quit their Fathers, Mothers, Relations, and their Country, to follow me, in hopes of a free *Liberty of Conscience*: Nay, they seem'd thunder-struck, they immediately surrounded me, and protested that they would not stir till their Relations were enlarged according to the Treaty. I did not endeavour to diswade them, only prevailed that they should lie still a few Days, till I had an

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Answer

Answer to the following Letter, which I writ to the Marechal.

MY LORD,

“ I Have the honour of your Commands,
“ and am very sorry that it is not in
“ my Power to obey them, my Men refuse
“ to follow me, and it is not in my Power to
“ compel them, you will allow that the
“ Prisoners and Gallerians are not enlarged
“ according to the Treaty, there being a-
“ bove two thirds still detained, who are
“ all related to some amongst us, and they
“ thought they were not to March till the
“ Time appointed in the Treaty was fully
“ expired, that they might have the satisfac-
“ tion to see it fully executed. As to the
“ new Converts, their coming among us is
“ what we cannot help, and I fear it will be
“ in vain to expect my Men should lay down
“ their Arms, till every thing that is stipula-
“ ted, be fully executed.

I am &c.

I complained to the Commissaries to the same purpose, and freely told them that at that rate, we cou'd depend upon nothing, it being in vain to talk of Peace, if the conditions of it were not observed, upon which, they promised

mised to write to the Mareschal, by the same Messenger, to prevail on him to suspend his Orders for some time.

B U T before we could have an Answer, I had a private express from *Nimes*, that the Mareschal had posted Troops in all the chief Passes of the Country, especially those leading to the Places where we used to assemble, to perform our Devotion, which looked as if he intended to surround us; and probably to seize me. Whether this was his Design or no is more than I can tell, however, as this step of his gave me just cause of suspicion, I immediatly communicated my intelligence to some of my chief Confidants, *viz.* *Ravenal, Billiard, Catinat* and some others; we all concluded that we had no time to loose, but when we came to consider what measures were to be taken, we found so many Difficulties in every thing proposed, that at last we agreed upon this expedient, That they should pretend as *Roland* did before, to entertain some Notion of my being gained by the Mareschal, and give out that they would neither trust or obey me any longer; by which I reserved to my self, a power of serving my Friends, without loosing the advantages and quality of

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a Mediator, My Officers accordingly published this about the Town, and especially to the Commissaries, saying, that they were betray'd, and that it was in vain to Treat, and that since conditions were broke, they were no longer tied by them, but were at their liberty to take what measures they should think proper for their Safety. They went upon this to relieve the Guard, which they had in the Market Place, and having order'd the Drum to beat to Arms, immediatly all my Men took their Arms and drew up before the Gate of the Town, where was a detachment of Dragoons of the Regiment of *Firmarion*, and the two Commissaries, who imagined they were going to put them to the Sword. I run to that Place in great haste, and seeming much surprized, as if knowing nothing of the matter; I first went to those two Gentlemen who were in Trouble, and assured them, that I would rather loose my Life, than any harm should be done to them, and that though I had lost much interest among my Men, yet I hoped I should have enough to preserve them, and returning to my Men with a threatening Voice, asked them the reason of their Muttering. They answered, that in short they found they were betray'd and

and every Man of them, was resolved to die Sword in Hand. I made a report of this to the Commissaries, and earnestly begg'd them as they were Eye-Witnesses of what past, to write in the most pressing manner to the Mareschal, and convince him, that it was in vain to expect they should lay down their Arms, till every Article of the Treaty was fulfilled. That as for my part, they were sensible I lost some of my credit with them, but that I wou'd still be for Peace, and use my utmost endeavours to pacify them; they were exceeding glad to come off so, after so great a fright, and assured me they wou'd give the Mareschal a faithful Account of all, and particularly of my conduct in this Affair; so I left them, and joined my Men, with whom I retired to a Neighbouring Wood, about a League off, to the great Joy of both the Commissaries, and Dragoons.

T H I S being come to the Mareschal's Ears, he detached all the Dragoons he cou'd spare, to observe us, but we were safe, in the Wood of *Canes*; but he cou'd not invest us, tho' he came shortly with all his Forces both Horse and Foot; which made him change his Method, and again propos'd we shou'd re-

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new our Conferences. After what had so lately passed, I had no great Inclination to it, tho' on the other Hand, the great Desolation of the Country, and the still greater Mischiefs that threatned it, afflicted me to the last Degree. Wherefore in this great Perplexity, not knowing what to determine, I went to meet *Roland*, to consult him, and think of some Means to preserve ourselves and Country from Ruin.

W E were both very sad at meeting, and agreed, that no Dependance cou'd be had from the Promises of the Court of *France*, the Jesuits, especially, who governed there, being our capital Enemies: That since even its Allies and neighbouring Powers had by a long Experience, learned their Disregard to publick Faith, what cou'd we expect, whom they looked upon as a Parcel of Vagabonds and Rebels, against whom they were incensed upon so many Accounts. On the other Hand, we were unprovided of all Necessaries for War, we had neither Ammunition nor Victuals, the whole Country being desolate; our best Friends, of consequence, unable to help us, and no Human Means at Hand for our Relief.

I N Fine, having spent the whole Day in these dismal Reflections, *Roland* tack'd up his Spirits, and resolv'd, that, what wou'd happen, he wou'd not lay down his Arms, saying it was better to die, than to run into the Lion's Mouth: So having rewarded his Resolution, and trusting that God, in his good Providence, might yet deliver us, we parted, and I came to my Men, whom *Ravenal* commanded, in my Absence, as soon as they saw me, they came about me, to know what we had agreed on; I cou'd only, in general give them good Words; but *Ravenal*, not satisfy'd insisted, that he had no Magazines nor Victuals, and that he did not see how we could any longer hold out, and (if Nothing else interfer'd) Famine wou'd at last destroy us all. This sunk my Spirits again, and made me more and more irresolute, and quite at a Loss what to do: the Case was the worse, because amongst usall, there were none capable of advising in Affairs of this Nature. However, I endeavour'd by a short Speech to raise their Spirits, and insinuating, that I was going to leave them, for a while, upon a Design, which in the End, wou'd prove for their Service, recommended Friendship and Unity as the Life of their Affairs; after which, I carry'd

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ry'd them to a large Village, called *Durford*, where we found Refreshments: There I gave *Ravenal* necessary Instructions either to avoid meeting the Enemy, or to subsist; but when I told him that I had Thoughts of going to the *Mareschal*, to try once more what might be done to avert our intended Ruin, He and *Catinat*, who also was present, burst into Tears, asking me whether I intended to abandon them? With Difficulty I convinced them, there was no other Way for our Safety, and assured them, that if I cou'd not make good Terms for them, I would endeavour to go out of the Kingdom, and procure Supplies from foreign Powers. The rest of the Confederates were satisfy'd, and promised to undergo all Extremities rather than submit.

T W O Days after I chose out Forty Men, and went to *Vezenobre*, where I heard that *Monsieur d'Agallies* was looking out for me, having a Message from the *Mareschal*. I let him know where I was, and he immediately came, and began with telling me that we had taken Alarm too soon, that the *Mareschal* had ordered him to assure me, that I should have full Satisfaction. I expostulated for the Non-performance of the late Conditions,

tions, which justified all our Suspensions, and after some Talk to that Purpose, he went to the Mareschal, who writ to Court, and as soon as he had his Answer, sent me word in the King's Name, that I should be satisfied, that the Court had altered it's Mind, that instead of *Spain*, I should go and serve in *Germany*, desiring that I shou'd meet him with such a Guard as I thought fit. I went to him without Hesitation, extremely pleased that I had an other Opportunity of conferring with him, and adoring the Wisdom, and Goodness of Providence, in which I folly trusted, that it wou'd guide and protect me in this, as in former difficult Cases.

I took three Hundred Men with me, but had no sooner got to *Nimes* than we were carried over into an Island which the *Rhone* forms a little above *Beaucaire*; they put us under a Guard much stronger than we were, so that we seemed to be, their Prisoners.

T H I S put us into a terrible Fright, which encreased, when having asked the commanding Officer, Monsieur la *Fuite*, Leave to go to *Nimes* about some Affairs of my own, who flatly refused me, saying, he had no

Orders to let me go out of the Island, but that he wou'd write to the Marechal, as I might do, if willing: This gave me terrible Apprehensions, which were encreased, when I found instead of taking the Liberty of keeping some of my own Men, I was given into the Charge of an Escorte of theirs. Being arrived at *Nimes*, the Marechal told me, he had Orders to send me to *Brisack*, where I was to form my Regiment, and that I must set out in four Days. I put the best Face upon it that I cou'd, though my Treatment there seem'd very suspicious, for besides a Guard before my Door, I cou'd go no where but I had a Serjeant and File of Musqueteers at my Heels, and was watched so close, that I cou'd speak to Nobody in Private; however I had the Satisfaction to see all that were confined in the Prisons of *Montpellier*, *Somieres*, *Alex*, *Anduzes*, and *Uzes*, on Account of Religion, set at Liberty: Those who had a Mind to serve, joined me there, the rest returned to their respective Homes, but as for the Gallerians, I cou'd at that Time obtain Nothing for them, but a Promise of their Liberty, by the Time I should have reached *Brisack*.

H A V I N G

H A V I N G taken leave of the Marechal, I waited on the Intendant Monsieur de Barville, who made me a long Harangue, consisting of Menaces, now and then mix'd with Promises, telling me, that if I serv'd the King faithfully, I shou'd find him a good Patron, and always ready to recommend me to the King: But if on the contrary, he ever found me in the Country, without special Leave from the Court, he would give me no Quarter. After which, he gave me a Sum of Money, to be distributed amongst my Men in the following Proportions, *viz.* A Lewis D'Or to each Soldier, two to each Serjeant, five to a Lieutenant ten to a Captain, thirty to my Lieutenant Collonel, and fifty for myself. I then recommended to him such of my Relations, as might fall in his Hands during the Troubles, which I foresaw were likely to happen after my Departure. After which, I returned to my Men, under the same Escorte that brought me to Town; I then distributed the Money in the Manner above mentioned, some rejoyced, but others were not without some Jealousy, that since we were now in their Power, they wou'd play us some Trick. At last, Orders being come, we set out under an Escorte of one Hundred

Hundred Foot, and Fifty Dragoons of *Fir-marcon's* commanded by the Major of that Regiment, who conducted us to *Lyons*; he was a genteel ingenious Man, which made that Part of the Journey very agreeable. We were civilly treated all along the Road, and our Lodgings by the Way were full always of People who came there out of Curiosity to see us. Our continual Discourse along the Road, was on the Subject of our Troubles, and Misfortunes, only the Major sometimes, for Variety, wou'd attack me upon Religion, tho' like the Generality of the *French* Gentry, he knew little of it, but took it in the Lump, and upon the Word of the Clergy; I made as good a Defence as I was able, and he being no great Controversist, no more than myself, nor his Learning much superiorto mine.

THIS kind of Conversation only diverted us on our Journey; but being come to *Valence*, he went to the Bishop, and acquainted him with it; his Lordship immediately sent one of his Chaplains to desire me to come to him. I readily accepted his Invitation, and found the Major and a Deal of Company with him; my Reception was very civil, and his Lordship told me in a very obliging Manner, that

that he was glad I had submitted and returned to my Duty, and the good Graces of my Sovereign: A little after, he asked me with a Kind of Wonder, what I saw in their Religion, that made me so averse to it. I answered, that there were many Things found and practised in it, for which I found not the least Foundation in the holy Scripture, as Transubstantiation, Purgatory, the Intercession of Saints, Indulgences, &c. He recited in Support of these Sins, *St. Jerome*, *St. Ambrose*, and other Fathers and Writers; but I still stuck to my Point, that the holy Scriptures are the only Rule of Faith, and that the Fathers, even though they should make for him, how pious and learned soever, were meer Men, and therefore subject to Error: From this, some that were present fell to Invectives, but the Bishop interrupted them calling for some Wine, and taking a Glass, drank to me, assuring me, that he wou'd pray for my Conversion. When we came away, I was very angry, and reproached the Major for exposing me to Disputes with Men of that Sort, and that I was afraid, it might bring me into some Trouble, but he put it off, saying, I shou'd hear no more of it.

BEING

B E I N G arrived at *Vienna*, I made a Visit to a Sister of the Mareschal's who was *Abbess* of a Convent of Nuns, for whom he had given me a Letter. When she had read it, she entertained me and my Company, viz. the Major and Captain of our Foot Guard, with excellent Hermitage Wine, and, even what was more, the agreeable Conversation of the young Ladies under her Government, who were much surprized to see me look so youthful, and asked me a thousand Questions. There was one who by her sad Looks, and deep Sighs, shewed that her case was something more than ordinary, which excited my Curiosity to speak to her in private, I took an Opportunity whilst we were walking promiscuously in the Garden, to ask her what the Matter was, that she looked and sighed so, the poor Creature told me that she had been born and bred a Protestant, but that her Father who was a new Convert, had put her in there under the pretence of Education, with a promise, that in two Years time he would bring her home again, that the time was long since expired, and earnestly begg'd that I would write to her Father, and recommend her case to the Mareschal; who probably wou'd be prevailed on to interest himself

in

in her favour, but how willing so ever I was to oblige her, I did not think it proper to meddle or make with an Affair of that Nature, so I left her. As soon as we were arrived at *Lions* such crouds furrounded the Door of my Lodgings, that to satisfy them, I was forced to go and walk about the Town to shew my self, and being returned home I found the Mayor's Coach, and an invitation to Sup with him; his House was full of Company who had met there out of Curiosity to see me, but I had not been there above an Hour when the Major sent for me, and told me he had an Order from the Mareschal to go back to his Quarters, that a fresh Guard was to convoy me to *Diion* in *Burgoundy*, and that there were Orders for another to conduct me to *Mascon*, and so from Place to Place, till I came to *Bryssack*, so he took his leave; and we stay'd a whole Day in that Place, which gave me time to visit the famous Castle of *Pierre-encise*, the beautiful Church of *St. Jehn*, and the celebrated Clock, which is one of the wonders of the World. The next Day we set out from *Lions* under our Escorte, and were all the Road civilly used, and well treated. At *Mascon*, I met a Command from Court to stay there untill further

Orders. We were very well used there, by Orders of the Intendant of *Dion*, who had strictly charged the Mayor, to take Care that we received no Insults. I got acquainted with several People of Credit there, who advised me to take a great deal of Care of myself, because that there were Spys perpetually about me; at the same Time expressing great apprehensions of Danger, for my being ordered to *Bryask*. After a few Days waiting there I writ to Monsieur *Chamilliard*, that if I might have the honour to be admitted to the King I had something to propose towards putting an End to the Troubles in the *Covenens*. My design was to find out whether his Majesty knew any Thing of what passed between the Marechal and me, which I had several Reasons to doubt. Some Time after the Baron *D'Aigailles*, came to me from that Minister, to know what it was that I had to communicate; insisting much that I should declare it to him, and I might depend upon his making a faithful Report to the King. But I absolutely refused, saying that I would communicate it to no Body, but to his Majesty. At parting I charged the Baron with the following Letter, to the Marechal.

My

MY LORD,
 I Have received so many Marks of your
 Goodness, that I am encouraged again
 " to trouble you in behalf of many of my
 " unfortunate Country-men, who have taken
 " up Arms, not against the King, but only to
 " defend their own Lives, great Numbers
 " of them still remaing Prisoners, I will take
 " the Liberty to beg your Lordship will or-
 " der them to be enlarged, which with the
 " kind treatment I met with, will infallibly
 " prevail with those who still stand out, to
 " lay down their Arms. I presume to re-
 " commend to your Lordship in a particular
 " Manner, one Mrs. Rouville, who has been
 " confined those eighteen Years in the Prison
 " of Pont St. Esprit. You will also permit
 " me to put you in mind of these Gallians,
 " of which I gave you a List. As also, of my
 " Father, whose House was demolish'd, and all
 " his Substance plundered. Monsieur the Inten-
 " dant, promised me to take care of him, but
 " I am informed that hitherto Nothing has
 " been done for his Relief. Your Lordship,
 " will please to Pardon me who am, Sir,

A few Days after, a Courier of the Cabinet
 called *Lavallee*, brought me the following Let-

ter, from Monsieur Chamiliard, in Answer to the one I writ on the Subject, of the last conference, I had with the Baron D'Aigallies.

VERSALLIE, July the 7th. 1704.

I Sent the Bearer expressly to Acquaint you, that I have received yours of the fourth Instant; in which, you signify, That you have something of importance to communicate to the King. His Majesty, consents that you repair to this Place, the Bearer will be your Guide, and will bring you to a Place where I am to see you, before you are admitted to the King; and let no Body know of your Journey except one or two of those who you can confide in. Before you set out take Care to give such Orders, as that your Men during your absence, may observe an exact Discipline. Monsieur Ferrant the Intendant of Burgoundy, has directions to furnish them with all Necessaries. 'Tis his Majesty's Command that you come alone, and that you manage so, that none may guess at your Design.

I am &c.

At

At the same Time I received the following from
the Intendant of Burgoundy.

“ I Should be very glad Sir to entertain you
“ upon certain Matters, be pleased to re-
“ pair without loss of Time to *Diion*, and
“ to take special Care that your Men keep
“ together, during your Absence. You may
“ commit the Care of them to Monsieur *Di-*
“ *verny*, who will deliver this to you, in or-
“ der to which it will be necessary that you
“ make him acquainted to your Chief Officers
“ that all things may pass to the King’s satis-
“ faction.

I am, &c.

PURSUANT to these Letters, I sent
for my Lieutenant Colonel *Billard*, and presen-
ted him to Monsieur *Diurny*, recommending
according to my Orders, that all things shou’d
pass according to the King’s intentions, but
when he heard that I was going to *Versallie*
with *Lavallee*, he was seized with terrible ap-
prehensions of what might become of him,
but things being come to that pass, as admit-
ted of no new Councils, and being besides
confident that the Court would not break
their Faith in so grosse a Manner, I set out
in

in the beginning of that Night, with *Lavallee*, who carried me to *Paris*, and from thence to *Versaille*. He conducted me immediatly after our Arrival to *Monsieur Chamillard's* apartment, who gave me a civil reception, and said, You writ to me that you had something of great consequence to communicate to the King. You are not Ignorant, but I have the honour to be his Majesty's first Minister, therefore you may as well open your self to me, for he is this Day much out of Order and it is impossible for you to speak to him. I answered, that I would wait till his Majesty was better. So after some talk to that purpose, finding that I persisted in my resolution not to discover it to him, he went to the King and acquainted him with my arrival. My reason for proceeding thus was a perswasion that the King knew nothing of the many hardships we had undergone, nor perhaps of the Treaty. So that I did not know but by making him sensible of them I might have obtained some Order for our relief, more than might be expected from the promises of his Ministers.

T H E King was at Maf when *Monsieur Chamillard* came to him; and I was
intro-

introduced into his Closet till it was over, and when his Majesty came to us, Sir said Monsieur Chamillard, *This is Cavallier, chief of the Rebels, who comes to implore your Majesty's Clemency.* I made a very low bow, but was terribly frightened with the Speech of my introducer, I remained for some Time confused and astonish'd, and the King having asked me what it was I had to say to him, and what was our Reasons for rising in Arms against him? Recollecting my self, I answered, " That we had not taken up Arms against his Majesty, but to defend our own lives against those, who contrary to his Royal intentions had oppressed and persecuted us, between twenty and thirty Years in the most cruel Manner. The Children were taken away from their Parents, and some sent into *Canada*, others into *Convents*, and some condemned to the Gallies. That Numbers had been massacred, only for meeting and performing their Devotion, and many that perished in noisome Dungeons. That I was not able to import the variety of Torment that were used; and if I were, I would save his Majesty the pain of hearing the rehearsal of them, knowing that we were so fully convinced

“ convinced of his Justice, and the generosity
“ of his Royal Mind, That we were per-
“ swaded, these Things were never done by
“ his Orders or Permission. That after de-
“ molishing our Churches and taking away
“ all those Priviledges, that had been granted
“ to us, by his Royal Ancestors. That we
“ had been satisfied had we been permitted
“ to serve God according to our Religion, if
“ it were in Woods, Caverns, or any where.
“ That his Majesty had not more faithful
“ Subjects than we should have been; and
“ were still willing to be. That we knew
“ his Majesty had been given to understand,
“ that it was an easy matter to make us change
“ our Religion, That there wou’d be no
“ need of violent Measures to force us, but
“ instead of that the Dragoons were let loose
“ upon us, who besides a thousand Outrages,
“ used to force and drag People to Mass, and
“ there with a Sword at our Throats, forced
“ us to abjure our Religion. That these
“ Methods had driven us to despair, and to
“ take up Arms, as our only refuge; our E-
“ nemies having stopped up all the Avenues
“ by which we might have applied to your
“ Majesty for Justice. That it was very
“ plain, they had abused their Trust, and
acted

“ acted contrary to his Majesty’s Royal In-
“ tentions, and that however we might
“ have been represented, our only Crime was,
“ that we cou’d not, contrary to our Consci-
“ ences, comply with your Majesty in em-
“ braceing the Roman Catholick Religion.
Finding he heard me very patiently, I went
on in the following Manner. “ These, Sir,
“ are only Part of our Grievances; it is with
“ the greatest Regret we have been forced to
“ do any Thing disagreeable or contrary to
“ our Duty to so good and great a King,
“ and my unhappy Countreymen do, by me,
“ humbly assure your Majesty, that if you
“ would be pleased to confirm the Promises
“ made us by the Mareschal de *Villars*, and
“ in your royal Clemency to forgive us all
“ that is past, we are ready to shed the last
“ Drop of our Blood for your Service. Here
he interrupted me, and with an angry, low
Voice, he said. “ I order you not to speak
“ one Word to that Treaty, on pain of in-
“ curring my Indignation, if the rest of the
“ Rebels will submit, I will consider what
“ may be done with the Prisoners and Gal-
“ lerians; he ask’d me if the Duke of *Savoy* or
“ any other of his Allies sent me Money or
“ Arms? I answered, “ that I never recei-

“ ved either from the Duke of Savoy, or any
“ Body else. Where, then did you get them
“ said the King? Sir, said I, we took care
“ to attack none of your Troops, but them
“ we were much superior in Number to, and
“ having overcome them, especially in the
“ Beginning; it was from them we provided
“ ourselves. He asked me, How many of
his Troops I thought had been destroyed
during all that Time? I answered, “ That I
“ did not know, but that his Generals might
“ inform him better than I: He charged me
with a great many Outrages, such as Burning
of Churches, and Murdering Priests, and o-
ther Ecclesiasticks. “ Sir, (said I) our Ene-
“ mies have not done us Justice in their In-
“ formations to your Majesty, none ever dy-
“ ed by our Hands, but those who were in
“ Arms against us; we did not imitate the
“ Mareschal de Montrevel, who without the
“ least Mercy, put to the Sword about
“ Fourscore People of divers Ages and Sexes,
“ whom he got together in a Mill, whilst
“ they were performing their Devotions.
“ There is one Circumstance more that, when
“ told, will create in your Majesty both
“ Horror and surprize, which is, A certain
“ young Lady, the only Daughter of a Coun-
“ cellor

" cellor at *Nimes*, who threw herself into the
 " Arms of one of his Pages, who was amongst
 " the Dragoons, and acquainting him with
 " her Name and Family, begg'd he wou'd
 " save her, and that all she had in the World
 " should be his. The Page took Compas-
 " sion on her, and brought her to the Mare-
 " schal, and earnestly begg'd her Life; but
 " he, instead of being moved with Pity,
 " in a Rage, commanded his Guards to kill
 " the young Lady and hang the Page, for
 " his Impertinence, as he call'd it: So the
 " poor Creature was murther'd in the Pre-
 " sence of that barbarous Mareschal, and
 " with much ado the Page escaped hanging:
 " Not content with this, in his Fury, he
 " put to the Sword many about the Place,
 " without Distinction of Religion; the very
 " Children in their Cradles did not escape the
 " Fury of the Dragoons: And for the Ve-
 " rity of this, Sir, I appeal to the whole Ci-
 " ty of *Nimes*, who can testify it." The
 " King then turned to Monsieur *Chamiliard* and
 " asked him, if he knew any thing of that Af-
 " fair. " Sir, (said he) there was something
 " like it, but not so bad as he makes it; there
 " was a Pack of Vagrants who had got to-
 " gether, and whom Monsieur *Montrevel*, or-

“ dered to be punished. ” But seeing he
had a Mind to make so slight of it, I reply’d,
“ What I have offer’d to your Majesty is
“ Nothing but Truth, and if all the Roman
“ Catholicks at *Nimes* do not confirm it, let
“ me undergo the utmost Effect of your Ma-
“ jesty’s Indignation. We don’t disown,
“ but we have burnt some Towns, and Vil-
“ lages, but only by way of Reprisals, and
“ as for Churches, none but such as where
“ Garrisons were placed: I humbly presume
“ to assure your Majesty, that we have done
“ Nothing but what we were forced to in
“ our own Defence.

I observed that he seem’d a little mov’d at
this Relation, and then asked me if I wou’d
become a good Catholick? To which I made
answer, “ That my Life was in his Hands,
“ and that I was ready to lay it down for
“ his Service, but as for my Religion, I re-
“ solved not to change it for any Considera-
“ tion this World cou’d afford. ” Well, said
the King, go, be wiser for the Future, and it
will be better for you. Having made a low
Bow I retired with Monsieur *Chamiliard* into
his Apartment, where I received a terrible
Reprimand for talking as I had done against
the

the Marechal de *Montrevel*, and especially for refusing the Honour of being the King's Convert; he exhorted me to make use of the Opportunity, and his Disposition to advance me: I smil'd when he continu'd to tell me, that tho' I did not believe every Thing which the Church teaches, I might pretend I did, and act as a great many others; that I might do as if I were at a Play, gaze and laugh without taking any other Notice; when you are at Mass, you may pray to the Devil if you please: Let the King see you there but twice or thrice and your Business is done, you shall have a Pension of 1500 Crowns a Year for Life, another for your Father, besides being made Brigadier in his Army. I answered him, *That when Moses was come to Age, he chose rather to suffer Adversity with the People of God, than to enjoy the Pleasures of a Court for a Season*; at which he laugh'd, saying, where have you got this old Womna's Story? Do you think that if the King's Religion was false, God would bless and prosper him as he has done? With Submission, Sir, said I, *Mahometanism* and its Professors have thriven and overrun a great Part of the Earth. As we cannot judge of God's Ways, no Argument can be drawn from the secular Prosperity

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ty of any Cause or Nation: That Kings as well as other Men derived their Religion from Education, and in case, when they came to maturer Years, they became sensible that they had been taught wrong, they might have a Thousand Reasons to disguise their Sentiments. That the Power of the Court and Clergy of *Rome* was so great that the most powerful Monarchs were not above the Reach of their Resentments, of which, to go no further, his Majesty's Grandfather, *Henry the IV.* was an Instance. He had no longer Patience, but interrupted me, saying, What I have said to you, was for your Good, but I find you are an obstinate Hugonet, wherefore you may take your own Way. However, he dismissed me civilly, ordering *Monsieur la Vallee* to shew me all the Curiosities about *Versallie*. It happened to be the very Day that the Dutchess of *Burgundy* saw Company after lying in. All the Water Works were set a going, and the Court in the utmost Joy and Magnificence, which gave me an Opportunity under the Conduct of my Guide to see all the Princes and Princesses of the Blood, and foreign Ministers who were come to make their Compliments on the Occasion. I was astonished at the Beauties of the Place, which

which after the Woods and Mountains I had been used to, seemed like an enchanted Palace. The next Day, by Order of Monsieur Chamiliard, I went in a Post-chaife to his Country-house about three Leagues from *Versallie*, where I found him drinking Chocolate, and had the Honour of having a Dish presented me, which I had not quite drunk, but he begun again upon Arguments about Religion, wherenpon I begg'd of him to press me no more on that Subject, for I was fix'd and immoveable; I then turned the Discourse to the War in the *Cevennes*: That as I told the King, if his Majesty were pleas'd to ratify the Conditions we had made with the Marschal de *Villars*, I wou'd engage my Life, that in eight Days Time the Troubles of that Country would be at an End. Sir, said he, the King will not hear of any such Treaty, and take you care not to speak a Word of it directly or indirectly to any Body whatsoever: The King will find Methods to reduce those Rebels, at which Time, you'll think yourself happy that was not with them. I reply'd, that I was afraid he did not know the Country or Inhabitants of the *Cevennes*, for sure if he did, he wou'd not have thought it so easy a Matter to destroy them as he seem-

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ed to do. Well, well, said he, we'll try that, and then gave me the following Warrant for a Pension of 1500 Livres.

June, 26. 1704.

THIS Day the King being at *Versailles*, and desirous, for divers good Considerations, to give the *Sieur Cavalier* a Mark of his Favour, his Majesty grants the Sum of 1500 Livres *per Annum*, as a Pension to be paid him out of his royal Treasure, upon his simple Acquittances during his Life, to commence from this Day: And in Witness that such is his Will and Pleasure, his Majesty has commanded me to give him this present Commission, which he has signed with his own Hand, and countersigned by me, his Counsellor Secretary of State, and Intendant of his Finances.

LEWIS.

CHAMILLIARD.

BESIDES this, he gave me an Order upon the Treasury for 1500 Livers, and again bid me remember what the King had said to me about Religion. The Money having

ing put me in a good Humour, my Lord said
I, " Now I am convinced that my Religion
" is better than yours since you give me so
" much Boot, which made him Smile, and
say, " If you were wise, you'd change with-
" out it. So I took my leave and came to
Paris with my Guide; but not without some
Concern and dismal Reflections, that I was
so strictly forbid to talk of the Treaty.

H A V I N G received my 1500 Livers,
I left the Town and went Post to *Mascon*, un-
der the conduct of my own Guide *La Vallee*,
who bore my expences all the Way, as he
haddone at my coming up. There I found
the following Letter from the Mareschal.

N I M E S July 19th, 1704.

S I R,

" I Have received the several Letters you
" have wrote me since your departure
" from *Valla-bregue*. The Account Monsieur
" *Bassignac* has given me of your good Con-
" duct on the Roads engages me to take all
" opportunities of doing you service. I shall
" take Care to enlarge those Prisoners whom
" you recommended; we only wait to re-

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" duce

“ duce the rest of the Rebels, which pro-
 “ bably, will be very soon; after which, you
 “ may assure you self that every Body shall
 “ have due Satisfaction.

I am,

S I R,

At your Service.

Mareschal VILLARS.

I N answer, I returned him thanks, not only for the Contents but for having wrote to Monsieur Chamiliard in my favour, to which I attributed the good reception I had from that Minister. Soon after I had a second from the aforesaid Mareschal.

N I M E S, July the 30th 1704.

S I R,

“ I Am very glad that Monsieur Chamiliard
 “ has done me Justice in acquainting you
 “ with what I had wrote in your Favour,
 “ I hope you will hereafter serve the King
 “ as bound in Honour and Duty. And
 “ whilst

" whilst you continue so to do you shall al-
" ways find that,

I am at your Service.

Mareschal VILLIARS.

A L L this while I had nothing to do but to divert my self always engaged in parties of pleasure, which I seemed entirely to give my self up too ; and carried it so well that they relaxed from their strictness, and left off observing me, so that I was perfectly at Liberty. But if my Person was free, my Mind was full of Anxiety. For a young Lady of the Place with whom, (amongst the rest) I used frequently to Converse, gave me some hints that there was something or other Hatching against me. A *Swiss* Gentleman, bid me take Care of my self, for he had heard from good Hands, that it was resolved to shut me up in the Citadel of *Brisac* for Life. Which was confirmed to me by an anonymous Letter from *Paris*, which made the greater impression, because it took Notice of several Particulars, which I thought could not come to the knowledge of an ordinary Person, upon which, I determined to quit the Kingdom

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the

the first Opportunity, which soon offered, as follows. The Intendant of *Burgundy* sent me an Order to march with the following Letter from Monsieur *Chamiliard*.

VERSAILLE, August the 6th, 1704.

" I Am inform'd that the *Sieur Daigalier*
 " has not been as successful in his Negoci-
 " ations as was expected, and that the Coun-
 " try which has been the Scene of War for
 " so long a Time, is like to be exposed to
 " the greatest severities, for the King is re-
 " solv'd, (let it cost what it will) to put an
 " End to that Rebellion. His Majesty will
 " send so many Troops in the End of the
 " Campaign, that it will not be possible for
 " that Handful of Rebels to hold out. For
 " your Part, you are very happy, that you've
 " left them in time, and that you are now in
 " a way of meriting his Majesty's favours,
 " by serving him, as a faithful Subject ought
 " to do. I sent to Monsieur *Ferran* Orders
 " for the safe conduct of you and your Men
 " to *Brisat*, where you'll live quietly, 'till there
 " is occasion for your Service.

I am,

At your Service,

Secretary CHAMILIARD,

T W O

TWO Days after I set out under an Escort of fifty Archers of the Mareschally of *Diion*, and thro' *Besancon* came to *Onnan*, within four Leagues of *Bedford*, which was the properest Place I cou'd wish for my Design. There I learned from some of my own Men that we were but three Leagues from *Montbelliard*, formerly a Place of noted strength, but now an open Town, allied to the Cantons of *Switzerland*. The way to it was all Woody, which was the Luckiest thing that could be for my Design. For fear of Accidents I went to *Reconnoitre* Wood, with a Peasant of the Place; under a Pretence, that I was informed, some of my Men intended to Desert; and that in order to prevent 'em, I would place Guards on the Ways that led to *Switzerland*; which done, I ordered my Men to meet about nine of the Clock in the Evening, at a House not far from my Quarters, and directly on the Road to *Montbelliard*; and at a little distance from it, a Serjeant and ten Men with the Peasant I desired should be my Guide. I went then and acquainted the Captain of the Archers with my pretended fears, but told them what measures I had taken; he commended me very much and assured me that he'd make a faithful Report of my

my conduct to the Intendant of *Burgundy*. I thank'd him and since we were to part, (for the next Day he was to be relieved) I desired we might Sup together, and not part with dry Lips. He accepted of the offer, and we agreed it should be at the Quarters who had the best Wine betwixt him and me, which happned to be his. My Lieutenant Colonel and two of his Officers were to be of the Party; so having ordered Supper we took a Walk about the Town to see that our Men committed no Disorders. It happen'd that some of my Men, as also some of the Archers, came to us and complained that their Wine was so very bad they could not Drink it. It was for the interest of my Design that they should have such as they liked, and in such large quantities as they pleased, so I went to the Master of the *Etape*, and expostulated with him, for serving us so ill, against the King's Intentions. The Captain of the Archers threatned, and talked louder than I did, and by Consent we pitched upon a Hog-shead of the best of Wine; and had it brought out and given to the Men, with leave to drink as much of it as they pleased. The Archers (as I wish'd, and expected) made the best use of their Time. For I had given

private

Etape signifies the providore for the K. Troop, who in their march are always supply'd with Victuals at the King's expence.

private Orders to some of my Subalterns, to take Care that my Soldiers should be kept Sober; giving them a hint that I had a Design to put in execution that Night. At Supper we drank very plentifully, and especially the Captain of the Archers and his Officers. In order to avoid Suspicion, I put on a great Air of Jollity, and tho^t I drank more than I used to do, yet I took Care to manage so, as not to exceed over much the Rules of Sobriety; so that when we parted about ten of the Clock at Night, they were like to tumble down; in endeavouring to rise to make me the usual Complement of waiting on me to the Door. Every thing being thus far favourable, I joined my Men, who according to my orders were met at that Hour, at the Place appointed; and were very impatient to know what I had to propose. What I have to propose to you Gentlemen, said I, is your *Liberty*; here is a fair Opportunity, if we loose this, 'tis probable we shall never have another. Are you willing to follow me? They answered very Joyfully, that they wou'd go wherever I pleased. I sent for the Guide, and told him that he was in my Hands, and should shew us the shortest Way to *Monbelliard*, and that his Life should answer for his

Honesty:

Honesty: But if he'd conduct us safe, he should be very well gratified. The Fellow was frightened; however, he promised to perform it faithfully. So we immediately set out, and about break of Day, we arrived at *Monbelliard*. But it being no safe Place, tho' we were Weary, we durst not stay, so long as to take the least Refreshment, so we went on to *Polantru*, which we reach'd about Noon. The Bishop who is the Sovereign of that Place and the adjacent Country, sent out his Town Major to enquire who we were, and whether we were going. I told him that we were going to *Berne*. That can't be, said he, for you have engaged your self in the King of *France's* Service. His Highness the Bishop will not suffer you to pass thro' his Country, and if you do not turn back, he will order his Cannon to fire on you. I answered, That all the favour I look'd for was the liberty of the High-Way, and that I would take nothing without paying the full Price for it, but if that they offer'd to molest us, we had Powder and Ball as well as they, and wou'd not be interrupted in our Journey. Upon the Major's report, the Bells of the Town rung, and other signals were made to alarm the Country. Whereupon all the Peasants took up

up Arms: But notwithstanding their Noise, we continued on our Way; they followed us, but at such a Distance, that it appear'd they were glad to get fairly rid of us. The next Town we came to, I was surprized to find all the Inhabitants under Arms. It seems they had been alarm'd by some of the Bishop's Subjects, and told, that I came to plunder them: But one of my Officers letting them know that we were going to *Berne*, they presently laid down their Arms, and strove who shou'd be foremost to offer us Bread, Cheese, Wine and other Provisions, besides a thousand Blessings; the Protestants being the Majority of the Town, tho' the Magistracy was half Papists and half Protestants. Our Minds being entirely at ease, we rested and refresh'd ourselves. I intended to pass thro' *Solure*, as the shortest Way to *Berne*; but some of the Inhabitants advised me rather to go about and avoid it, because the *French* Ambassador resided there, and that *Canton* was entirely Popish and altogether at the Devotion of the *French* Court, whose Pensioners they were. Therefore there might be some Danger of their playing us some Trick to ingratiate themselves with the King. So I altered my Design, and went on towards *New Chastel*. I

was the more convinced of the reason of their Advice, when there came some Persons from the Bishop of *Polantru*, who said they came by his Command to offer themselves as Guides, and shew me the shortest Way to *Solure*; that being a pretended favour which I had no reason to expect at his Hands. We might have stay'd longer, and been very welcome; but it being unsafe to loyter in a little open Town, so near the *French* Frontiers. We left it in the Beginning of the Night, and early the next Morning reach'd a little Town in the Country of *Chatel*. The Bailiff of the Place, a good old Man, as soon as he found who we were, came to me with Tears in his Eyes, embraced and obliged me to go to his House; where he not only treated me in the kindest Manner, but took Care to supply my Men with all Manner of Provisions, asking me a thousand Questions about the War, and the Manner of my Escape. In the Evening I got to a Village within half a League of *New Chastell*, where the Town Clerk came to meet me; and in the Name of the Magistrates, acquainted me, that they permitted no Body to pass thro' their Country in Arms, but that if I'd deliver 'em to him, I shou'd have 'em again when I pleased. I readily obey'd

bey'd, since I was among Friends; but as they are obliged, by reason of their Neighbourhood to keep a good understanding with *France*, desired I would forbear coming into their City, but they provided Boats to carry us over the Lough to *Iverdun*; there I had the same Apology made to me, and probably for the same Reason; the Resentment of the *French* Court being very dreadful to the little States in its Neighbourhood. However we were kindly used and conducted by one of the Town Officers to a Village where all Necessaries were plentifully provided for us. From this Place I sent my Men in small Parcels to *Lauzane*, and to avoid Crowds, I continued my Journey and got there myself in the beginning of the Night.

The next Day being *Sunday* I went to The first Church to give God thanks for my Deliver- of Septem-
ance. As I was coming out a Tall Man ac- ber, 1704.
costed me, and asked whether I knew him?
and without waiting for an Answer, told me
his Name was the *Abbot de la Bourlie*, or the
Marquis de Guiscard, and that he was oblig'd
to fly his Country for the same reason I had
for so doing; tho' he did it out of another
principle than that of his Duty, and so we

shall say no more of him. After some conference about our Affairs, he advised me to write a Letter to his Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy, and to offer him my service with a Regiment. I took his Advice, and sent immediately an express with the following Letter.

May it please your Royal Highness,

“ **P**ROVIDENCE having saved
 “ me from the Snares the French had
 “ laid for me, I am safely arrived in this
 “ Country; I think I cannot do better
 “ than to Address my self to so great a
 “ Prince as you are, and to offer you my
 “ most humble Services. The honour of ser-
 “ ving under your Royal Highness’s Bannor,
 “ will be to me the greatest Felicity I could
 “ wish for, looking upon your Royal High-
 “ ness as the Protector of the poor oppress’d
 “ People in France; and I hope by your Valour
 “ the Neighbouring People of France will be
 “ secure from being molested by the most am-
 “ bitious of Monarchs. For my part, I shall
 “ embrace all Opportunities of shewing your
 “ Royal Highness my inviolable attachment
 “ for your Service. I have about 250 Men
 “ come out of France along with me, and
 “ willingly

"willing to follow me whithersoever I
 "shall go. As soon as I have receiv'd the
 "honour of your Royal Highness's order,
 "I shall repair to whatsoever Place you'll
 "command me. I shall leave Officers here
 "to raise Recruits, in order speedily to form
 "a Regiment, if your Royal Highness thinks
 "it proper.

I am,

With the profoundest respect,

Your Royal Highness's,

most Obedient Servant.

Lauzane, August 2

the 31st, 1704. S. J. C. CAVALLIER.

His Royal Highness was pleased to make
 me the following Answer.

Monsieur Cavallier,

"WE have received with pleasure, the
 "Letter you wrote to us from Lau-
 "zane the 31st of last Month. Being well
 "pleas'd with the Testimony of your Zeal
 "for our Service, we send you Money by the
 "Courtier, in order to repair with you Men
 "to the City of Mofte, where you'll apply
 "to the Marquiss de Cirio Governor of the
 "Province, who will shew you the Post you
 "must

“ must take to go into the Vallies of *Luzerne*,
 “ with your People, which you must endea-
 “ vour to increase as much as you can with
 “ sure and choice Men, upon whom one may
 “ safely depend. We are very glad you’ve
 “ experienced how little foundation there
 “ is in the Promises of *France*, which reck-
 “ ons the greatest violences for nothing.
 “ Assure your self, that upon all occasions, we
 “ shall willingly contribute to all your Ad-
 “ vantages; and in the main While, we pray
 “ God to have you in his holy keeping.

From the Camp of Cres- } VICTOR AMEDEE.
 sentin the 5th of Sep- }
 tember, 1704. } J. CULIAT.

The Day before I had writ to Monsieur
de Chamiliard to justifie to him, an Accoont
 of my retreat. The Letter was in substance
 as follows.
 My Lord, I have the 31st of last Month.
 I make no doubt but your Lordship will
 be surpriz'd as soon as you'll be in-
 form'd I am not at *Brisack*, but in *Switz-*
erland; and hope you'll be so kind as to re-
 flect on the Moment on what Reasons which
 I have

“ have oblig’d me to it, which will con-
“ vince you that I could not act otherwise.
“ I have not fail’d making your Lordship ac-
“ quainted with the Promises made me by
“ the Marechal *de Villars*, before I went
“ to him in the Convent of the *Recolects* at
“ *Nimes*. You’ll remember if you please, the
“ Orders the King gave me of not Speaking
“ either directly or indirectly, of the Treaty
“ I had made with the Marechal *de Villars*.
“ You have your self repeated those Orders
“ to me, on pain of incurring his Majesty’s
“ Displeasure. I have most humbly intrea-
“ ted you to Speak to his Majesty about the
“ releasing of the Prisoners, and those in the
“ Gallies, and for liberty of Conscience, ac-
“ cording to the Solemn and reiterated pro-
“ mises which the Marechal had made us
“ on the Part, and in the Name of his Ma-
“ jesty, before we laid down our Arms; to
“ which I added, that if his Majesty would
“ grant us that favour all my Comrades wou’d
“ lay down their Arms, and we should be
“ ready to sacrifice our Lives and Fortunes
“ for his Service with the same Zeal, that
“ that our Fathers did at his coming to the
“ Crown; but your Lordship answered me,
“ *That the King did not use to Treat with Rebels,*
“ but

“ But ought rather to Exterminate than Pardon
“ them. You know also that they brought
“ me like a Criminal to *Brissack*, guarded by
“ Archers, who watched me Night and Day.
“ What could I expect from such an Answer,
“ and such Usage but some Tragical End, like
“ that of *Audigos* of the *Pyrenees*, whom they
“ caus’d miserably to perish, after having
“ granted him his Pardon, and a Regiment?
“ Several intelligence and charitable Persons
“ in all the Towns thro’ which I pass’d,
“ whisper’d to me, that if once I got into *Bris-*
“ *sack*, they should hear no more of me. Their
“ good Advices made me perceive the Danger
“ I did not think of before, and induc’d me
“ to shun it. They knew so well the Inten-
“ dant *Baville*’s deceitful and bloody Mind,
“ that they did not at all doubt but he was
“ the Author of that Plot, and had caus’d
“ me to be guarded by such odious People as
“ Archers in order to secure my Person:
“ But his too great precaution, made him miss
“ his Aim, and sav’d my Life. As to the
“ *Marschal de Villars* I cannot but acknow-
“ ledge and commend his civil behaviour to-
“ wards me, and I do not doubt, but he
“ would have performed all his promises, if
“ it had been in his Power. In fine (not to
“ detain

“ detain you any longer) if his Majesty will
“ be so kind, as to grant to the Protestants
“ of the *Cevennes* all that the *Mareschal de*
“ *Villars* has promised us, on his Part, and in
“ his Name, I shall quietly remain in this
“ Country ; but if he continue to molest them,
“ I hope God will raise them up a deliverer.

I am &c.

Lauzane September

the 4th, 1704.

CAVALLIER.

Monsieur de Chamiliard, not being wanting in point of *French Civility*, made me a very Eloquent Answer, which I shall insert here, as a piece worthy to be taken Notice of, and written with great Moderation—or otherwise.

Fontainebleau, 13th. Sept. 1704.

Monsieur,

“ I Received your Letter of the Fourth of
“ this Month, by which you pretend
“ to justify your Evasions. The Pretences
“ you make use of, may be received amongst
“ the King's Enemies ; but, for my part, who
“ know in all it's extent, the kind Usage you
T t “ have

" have met with, I can but pity you for your
 " Blindness, and, as a Christian, pray to
 " God that he may not make you suffer the
 " Penalty of your Perfidiousness; for, as a
 " Man, I know you but too much deserve
 " it. The Complaints you made me are the
 " same you made in *Switzerland*. You
 " ought at least to have waited for my An-
 " swer, if you had been sincere. I know you
 " have dispatch'd a *Courier* to *Monsieur* the
 " *Duke of Savoy*, since you are at *Lank-*
 " *ane*; and are gathering all the *Refugees*
 " together, in order to form a *Regiment*,
 " with which you offer him your Service. I
 " I have been also assured that *Monsieur* the
 " *Abbot de la Bourlie*, who causes himself to
 " be call'd the *Count de Guiscard*, and is a
 " Clergyman enjoying a considerable *Abby*
 " for upward of Forty Years, after having,
 " during several Years, led a disorderly Life,
 " abandon'd by God, and despis'd by Men,
 " has taken the resolution of turning Runne-
 " gate, and of acting against his King, his
 " Duty and his Honour, and of destroying
 " his own Country. If these are the Men
 " with which you make up the Party you
 " are forming against the King, 'tis to be
 " hop'd he will be revenged of them by a

" a

“ a mightier Hand than his. 'Tis yet time
“ to have recourse to his Majesty's Clemency,
“ and a Man of so mean a Birth as yours,
“ loaded with Crimes, if he was not possessed
“ with the Spirit of the Devil, would know
“ how to make a right use of the Pardon his
“ Majesty had granted him, by retiring
“ where he might live quietly, and pray for
“ his Benefactor, without fearing the wants
“ of an unhappy Destiny. If you are ca-
“ pable of such Sentiments, and Fidelity
“ towards your King, a Principle insepara-
“ ble from the true Religion, I offer you all
“ the good Offices I am capable of. If on
“ the contrary, you have a mind to live as a
“ a revolted Subject, 'tis not proper for me
“ to have any farther Correspondence with
“ you.

Chamillard.

I In this Answer, there are several things to
be observ'd: The first is, That Monsieur
Chamillard expatiates on Invectives, and does
not justify their behaviour to me, not only
in not performing what was promised me,
but also in causing me to be as courted, or
rather guarded by a Band of Archers, as a
Criminal of State, from the Day that I sur-

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rendred

rendred my self, to that of my Evasion. He dared not to answer one Word of my Complaints. He contents himself with saying, *that they may be receiv'd amongst the King's Enemies.* Why does he not prove they have punctually executed what they had promised me? And that they did not cause me to be Guarded. That I complain wrongfully, and that he can convince me of Falshood:

He is in the right to be silent upon these Articles; for true Policy requires one should say nothing upon an unjustifiable Action. He follows the Maxim of the Court of *France*; for when the Persecutors were Dragooning us, to force us to change our Religion, those Wretches used to publish, that we changed Voluntarily, that we went to Mass of our own accord, at the time when we were driven to it with Cudgells, or else dragg'd there by the Dragoons. I do not doubt, but, if I had gone to *Brissack*, I should have been put to some violent Death or another, and afterwards they would have given out, that I dyed of a natural Death. Secondly, Monsieur *de Chamiliard* taxes me of being loaded with Crimes. I confess I am loaded with the Crime of *Leze Majesty*, for having been willing

willing to defend my Life and my Liberty
against a Tyrant.

ONE may easily imagine, the Offers of
Monsieur de Chamiliard made no manner of
Impression upon me. I had by a sort of a Mi-
racle escaped the Net they had laid for me ;
there was no likelihood I would give them
the least attention to their promises. I ap-
ply'd my self to put in execution his Royal
Highness's Orders. I sent one Hun-
dred Men to the Valley of *Aoste*, under the
Command of *Billiard*, my Lieutenant Collonel
with an intention of following him very soon
with all I could get together. I sent away
two or three Detachments more, in order
to go to the same Place. They were obliged
to pass through the frightful Mountains of
the Vallies of *Switzerland*, or of *St. Maurice*.

MY first Detachment being arrived in the
City of *Aoste* ; my Lieutenant Colonel sent
me word, that the *French* threatned to attack
that Country, and that if they made them-
selves Masters of it, the communication be-
tween *Piemont* and *Switzerland* would be in-
tirely cut off. I had already raised a good
Number of Recruits ready to be sent away ;
but

but as soon as I receiv'd that News, I left two Officers at *la Lauzane*, and in all haste set out for the City of *Aoste*, leaving orders to my Men to follow me. The difficulty of crossing thro' the Valley of *St. Maurice* was very great, because the Governor thereof was a great Friend to *France*, and *Monsieur de la Fouillade* had sent him my Picture, with a Promise of a considerable reward if he could secure me. I was obliged to put on a *Swiss* habit, for fear of being known. There were two *Swiss* Gentlemen, who were so kind as to accompany me as far as *Aoste*.

THE next day I cross through a Country which was more *French* than *Savoyard*. When I got to the Convent of *St. Bernard*, I was safe. Those charitable Fathers receiv'd us mighty well, and treated us handsomely, and after Dinner my Friends told them who I was. They seem'd all surpriz'd, however they were very Civil to me, and shew'd me all the rarities of their Convent. Amongst other things I observ'd the Devil chain'd with a Scapulary or white and red Ribbon intermix'd with crosses, and those good Fathers told us the History thereof. They said, there was a Duke of *Savoy* who was at War with the

the Lombards, and he made a vow to St. Bernard who was his Patron, that if he overcame his Enemies, he'd go in Pilgrimage on the the Top of the Mountain of the Alps, where there was a Chappel dedicated to that Saint. St. Bernard granted the Duke of Savoy's request, and he beat his Enemies. After the Victory, he went to this Chappel in Pilgrimage, and when he got thither, he found the Devil by this Chappel who put himself in his way, in order to hinder him from getting in. The Duke ask'd him, *Who he was?* but the Devil would make him no Answer, but hinder'd him from coming near the Chappel to perform his Devotions. At last the Duke found 'twas Satan, who came to tempt him, as he had tempted our Lord upon the Mount. The Duke seeing this, took his Holy Ghost, or Ribbon which he wore by way of an Order, and threw it upon the Devil's Neck, and pull'd it so Strait, that he strangled him, and hung him on a Cross before the Chappel. And now the Devil hangs in Paint round the Chappel, as he was strangled.

T H I S is the Story of those good Fathers: I call them so, because they Lodge, and entertain all Passengers Gratis, which encourages

encourages the Trade of *Switzerland* with *Piemont*; for the Merchants would never venture to cross those frightful Mountains in Winter, if there was not such a Place, and notwithstanding all the Care those good Fathers take, there perishes a great Number of Travellers, by the prodigious quantity of Snow, which lies almost all the Year round on the Top of those Mountains :

T H E Scituation of this Convent is very strange. They have no Neighbourhood nearer than 2 Leagues off, and are obliged to go three Leagues distance for their Provisions. There are forty Monks in this Convent, who serve by Quarters.

A F T E R having seen all that could be seen in the Convent, I continued my Journey with my Friends as far as the City of *Aoste*. As soon as I arrived there, I went to pay my respects to the Governor, who was the *Marquis de Ciries*. He received me very Courteously, and in few words gave me a detail of the Affairs of his Government, which gave me but an indifferent Opinion of them; however 'twas my Business to shew my good will. The Governor desir'd me very earnestly to
repair

repair to *la Tuille* a Place two Leagues from the City of *Aoste*, where he had already sent two hundred of my Men in order to join the Baron de *St. Remis* who commanded there, and who expected every Moment to be attack'd.

AS soon as he had given me his Orders, I took my leave of my Friends, being mighty sorry I could not be longer in their Company, and I set out for *la Tuille*, where being arrived, I went to the General, who was very glad to see me. He brought me at first to see all his Intrenchments, which I found very well made, but on the contrary, very ill guarded. His Men were all fresh Troops, or Militia of the Country. Having visited every thing, he order'd me to the most expos'd Place, where I was posted with two hundred of my Men, and three hundred *Swiss*. I was about twenty four Hours pretty quiet on my Post, after which time, the Enemy came and encamp'd themselves within Musket-shot of us, before our Intrenchment, and the next Day after their Arrival, they attack'd us by break of Day in two different Places, where the *Swiss* and *Savoyards* surr-

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dered themselves without making the least resistance.

I found my self in a manner surrounded, before I had heard any Noise, and had it not been for a *Swiss* Officer, who came and warned me of the Danger I had been taken. I retired to the second Intrenchment, thinking that the *Swiss* and *Savoyards* would keep their Ground; it being so strong, we thought it impossible to force the same without Canon: At my enterance I found a Detachment of *French* Dragoons on Foot, who were come down from the Mountain, in order to surround us. When we cry'd out, *Who comes there?* They answered, *France*. They did not make towards me, nor I towards them, but with all speed I got into a Wood which was before me, after having been discovered, and having received some of their Fire. Coming out of the Wood, after I had gone about half a League, I fell into another Party, which had taken the Governor and the General with their Baggage. I fell foul upon them, when they little expected it, and put them to flight, which deliver'd the Governor and the General together with their Baggage, from the Enemy. Having thus extricated my self out
of

of all those Difficulties, I retired to the City of *Aoste*, thinking that the General would have rallied his Men together, but I found no Body there, and so was oblig'd to make the best of my way towards the Fort of *Bart*, where being arriv'd I found General *Rabender* who commanded there, and who did what he could to oblige me to stay there: But I perceiv'd the great danger I should be expos'd to, if I should lock my self up in that Place. I shew'd him an order I had from his Royal Highness to repair to the Vallies of *Luzerne* with my Men, and then he let me go. And 'twas well for me; for six Days after the Forth was taken, the Garrison made Prisoners of War, and the General engaged in the *French* Service. I was not yet out of Danger; for having march'd the whole Day, I took up my Quarters at a Village which was at the going out of the Valley of *Cornier*. The Duke *de Vendome* who commanded the *French* Army which besieg'd *Turee* had intelligence thereof, and sent a Party of Dragoons after me, in order to intercept me. He wou'd without doubt, have succeeded, if, by good Providence, a Peasant who was in the Enemies interest had not discover'd the Secret; by talking to one of his Neighbours, he told

him in the *Piemontese* Language, that he'd be soon rid of his Guests; that the Enemy had sent a Detachment to carry me off. A Soldier (by chance) having overheard him, came and acquainted me with it. I sent for the Peasant, but he was not to be found. I made my Men take their Arms, and we left the Place. I was not a thousand Paces from the Village, when the Enemy enter'd it. We could hear them Swearing and Cursing, because they had miss'd their Design. I retir'd into a little Village, and posted a Guard on the Road, by which the Enemy could come at me, and secur'd all the Inhabitants. I stay'd there 'till Day Light, because I did not know the Country. Afterwards I continued my march as far as the River *Doira*, where I found a Guard of his Royal Highness's Troops. I had but just cross'd the River upon a flying Bridge, when the Enemy appear'd behind me; but I was safe enough, the River not being Fordable, I continu'd my rout to Turin, where I got the next Day. I went to pay my respects to Mr. *Hell* the Queen of *England's* Envoy, because his Royal Highness was with his Army at *Crescentin*, the Envoy most obligingly offer'd to carry me in his Chaise to the Camp, and I went along

along with him. His Royal Highness receiv'd me very graciously, and after having given him an Account of what pass'd at *La Tuille*, he thank'd me for my good Conduct, and order'd one of his Secretaries to dispatch a Commission of Colonel of Foot for me. After which, the Envoy did me the Honour to present me to the Mareschal and Count *de Staremberg*, as also, to several other General Officers.

THE Enemy were Beginning to make the approaches of *Verrue*, which employ'd his Royal Highness and the Mareschal *de Staremberg*. His Royal Highness had caused an Intrenchment to be made at some distance off the Place, in order to hinder their approaches as long as he could; and it stopp'd them ten or twelve Days. They were obliged to dress two batteries to beat down that Intrenchment, and afterwards to make their approach by *Sapping*, not daring to storm it, for fear either of being repuls'd, or of being blown up by Mines, knowing his Royal Highness and the Mareschal Count *de Staremberg* to be two very great Generals; for which reason, the Duke *de Vendome* attack'd them but with Trembling, tho' he had an Army of eighty thousand

thousand Men, and his Royal Highness, but twenty five thousand: Notwithstanding, never was Ground better disputed, though we were oblig'd at last to yield to Strength, and quit the Intrenchment, in order to Encamp at *Crescentin*, on the other Side of the *Pô*, under the Canon of *Verrue*. The Enemy opened their Trenches the tenth of *October*. His Royal Highness had stor'd that important Place, with all that was Necessary for a long Defence. Besides that it was very advantageously scituated, they reliev'd the Garrison, every four and twenty Hours, by the means of a Bridge of communication, which there was from *Verrue* to *Crescentin*. What render'd again the approach very difficult to the Enemy was they could hardly shelter themselves from the Canon of the Town; and if they came by the Mountain Side, they were obliged to make a descent into the *Glacis*, before they could raise any Battery against the *Bastions* or *Ramparts*, and then they were expos'd, and under the fire of the besieged: On the Side of the *Pô*, the Tower, was scituated on a very high Rock: There was no Battering of it; however 'twas the only means they had left of making their approaches. They came by undermining as
far

far as the brink of the Ditch, but not without the loss of a great many Men, and when they had a mind to descend into the Ditch, they found a Mine which blew them up. In the mean Time the besieged made a Sally, which prov'd very Successful; for they kill'd or took all those who were in the Trenches, nail'd up twelve Pieces of Canon, and fill'd up Part of their Works: They were about eight Days repairing the Damage, besides they were obliged to send for some Canon, to make up their Batteries again. During this Sally, the Count *de Thoun* who had been commanded with fifteen hundred Horse or Dragoons, went to attack Monsieur the Duke *de Vandome's* Quarters, and this General narrowly escaped being taken in his Tent. By good Luck he was well entrench'd, and had a strong Guard to defend him. The Count *de Thoun*, having miss'd his aim, went back again, after having defeated some Guards which he met in his Way. The alarm was so great in the Duke *de Vandome's* Army, that if the Count *de Thoun* had push'd his point, he would have defeated part of them, before they would have known where, almost they were: One may say that never any Siege cost France so much as this. I stay'd about
fix

six Weeks with the Army, seeing of this famous Siege, which lasted six Months and nineteen Days, and at last this Town could not be taken, otherwise than by Famine. The Marechal de Staremberg, whom one may call one of the greatest Generals of the Age, distinguish'd himself by this Action: His

W H E N the Enemies had cut off the Communication from *Crascentin* to *Vernuë*, they made several Mines in order to blow up the Tower of *Vernuë*, but in vain; seeing that they converted the Siege into a Blocus. The Marechal de Staremberg retir'd with the rest of his Troops to *Chivaz*, a little ill fortified Place. However he kept the Duke de *Vandôme* there for five Weeks, and made him lose a great many Men: After which, he withdrew his Garrison, and the Artillery that was in it, blew up all the Works and cross'd the *Po* with his little Army, and retir'd near *Turin*, where he put his Troops in Quarters to be refresh'd. I spent the Winter in the Vallies of *Luzerne* among the *Vaudois*, who were very glad of having me with them, being a Companion in their Sufferings for the same Cause; for there is no difference betwixt their Church, and our Churches of France, Geneva,

Geneva, and *Holland*; Their principles, and their Worship are the same. I shall not speak here of their Persecutions, in different Times, which have been very violent, either from the Pope, or from their own Princes, or from the King of *France*. There are now in the Vallies seventeen Churches. Their Ministers go all to *Geneva* to Study, and as the People are very poor, *England* and *Holland*, give them a Sum of Money for the Maintenance of their Clergy. His Royal Highness has us'd them very kindly in this last War, and they have done him great Services; for when the *French* had made themselves Masters of all his Country in 1706; he was oblig'd to retire into the Vallies with some Troops he had left, they receiv'd and entertained him with all the Fidelity imaginable, without the least resentment, for what had pass'd. I had left my Regiment in Quarters in that Country, in the Month of *December* 1705, with Orders from his Royal Highness to repair to *Switzerland*, and try to pass the Lake of *Geneva*, with a Party of my Men, which was yet in that Country, in order to favour the Entrance of some Succours into *Montmillian*. I set out from the Vallies with two Officers of my Regiment, and cross'd over the Mount *David*,

and took the Road to *Genoa*. I was several Times in Danger of being taken by the *French*, who were all over *Italy*: But particularly at *Genoa*, I was known by a *French* Man, who had been my School-fellow. He came into the Inn where I was, with two other *French* Men, and seeing me coming in after them, he accosted me, and Naming me, ask'd me how I did. I told him he was mistaken, for that was not my Name. He reply'd he knew me very well, and would make me confess it. Seeing I was in Danger, because the *French* have great Power there, I sent to the Emperor's Resident to desire his Protection. He sent me immediately six *Brawoes*, such as great Men in *Italy* make use of either to Assassinate, or prevent their being Assassinated. These People waited at my Door all the Day long. In the mean while the the Resident complain'd to the Government and desired their Protection for me: But before measures were taken for my safety, Night came on, and by the Resident's Advice, I went out of Town. I embark'd on a *Felucca* for *Lucca*, where having a favourable Wind and four good Oars, I arriv'd the next Morning. In the Afternoon I took post for *Florence*, and continued my Route through *Pisa* and *Bologna*, as far as *Ferraro*,

Feraro, where I was forc'd to tarry for two Days, on account of the inundation of the *Pô*, which had overflown all the Country four Leagues round. The third Day I embarked with my two Captains on flat Boats, on which we were two Hours a crossing that inundation. We got upon a Ditch, where the Inhabitants of the overflown Country had refuged. There was such a Desolation, that Nothing was to be seen but dead Corps floating upon the Water. We continued our Journey and arrived at *Padua*, and from *Padua*, came to *Trent* in the *Tirol*, and thence to *Inspruck*, where I was oblig'd to stay eight Days, having no Passport from the Emperor's Envoy, 'till I had receiv'd one from his Royal Highness's Envoy in *Switzerland*. As soon as I received it I shew'd it to the Secretary of the Council of *Inspruck*, and afterwards went on to *Schaffhausen*; and from thence to *Berne*, where being arrived, I went to his Royal Highness's Envoy, in order to concert measures with him concerning the Succours to be thrown into *Montmillian*; but I came too late, for the Envoy had just received the News of the Garrison's having been forc'd to Surrender for want of Provisions.

W H E N

W H E N I found the Project had fail'd, I took a Resolution to go to *Holland*, notwithstanding the badness of the Season. I cross'd all *Germany*, and arrived in *Holland*, the latter End of *December*, and immediately went to pay my Respects to the great Pensionary *Hinsius*. After some conferences, their High Mightinesses granted me a Regiment of Foot, whereof the Queen of *England* paid two thirds, and their High Mightinesses the other, I had the Naming of the Officers, and the giving of the Commissions,



